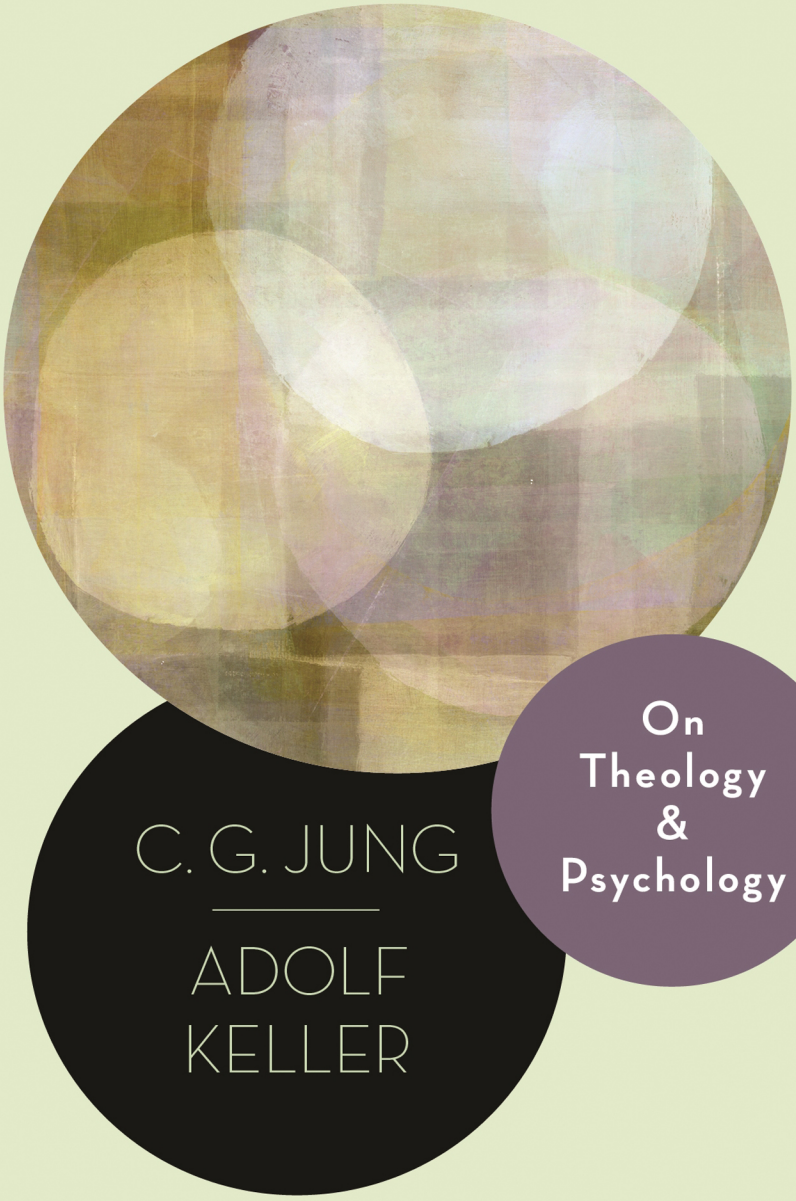
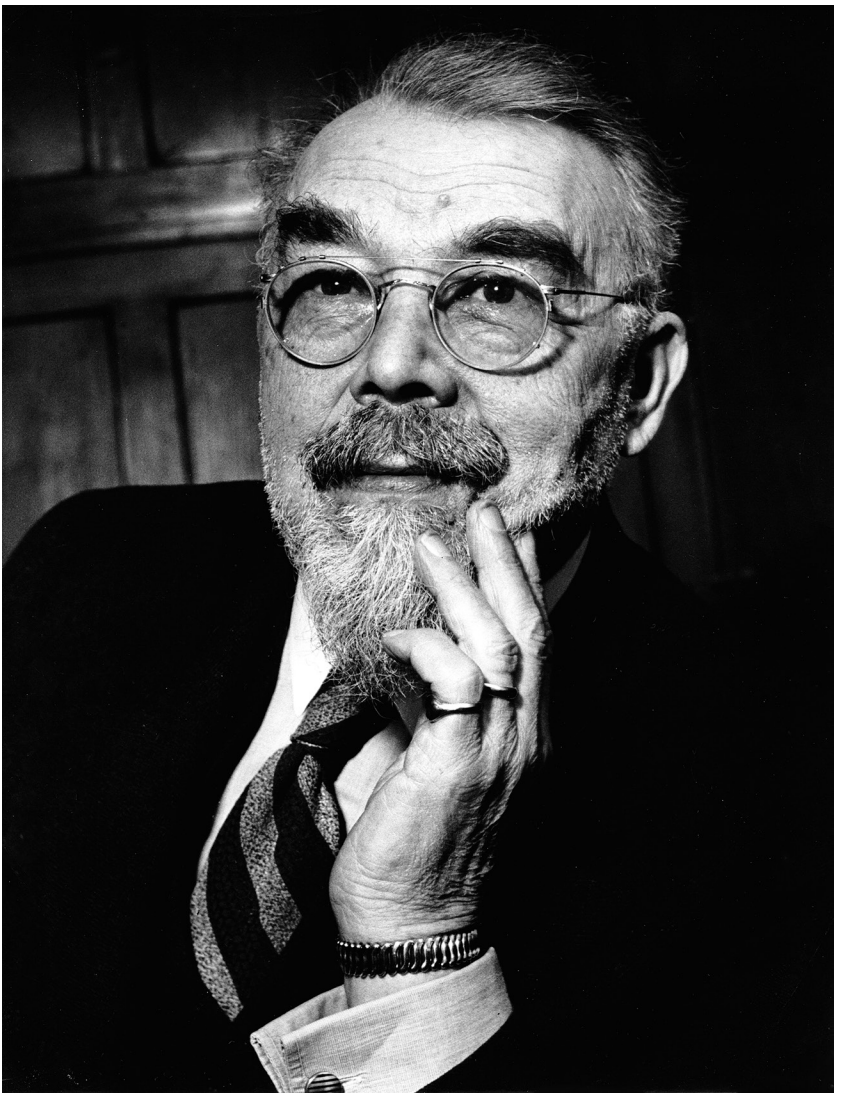


THE CORRESPONDENCE OF

C. G. JUNG AND ADOLF KELLER

EDITED BY **MARIANNE JEHLE-WILDBERGER**

On Theology and Psychology



Adolf Keller. *Courtesy of Pierre Keller.*

A list of Jung's works appears at the back of this volume.

On Theology and Psychology

A Correspondence

C. G. Jung and Adolf Keller

Edited by
Marianne Jehle-Wildberger

Translated by Heather McCartney with John Peck

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Foreword

The relationship between the theologian Adolf Keller (1872–1963) and the psychiatrist Carl Gustav Jung (1875–1961) spanned a good fifty years. It began at the end of 1907 and continued until April 1958, when Jung wrote a final letter to Keller, who had just suffered a stroke. Parallels exist in Jung and Keller's fields of interest, despite differences in emphases. Both experienced periods of affinity as well as of distance. Though they shared many of their convictions, they differed on others, while sharing a mutual respect for one another. In each of their respective fields they were pioneers: Jung as a psychiatrist, Keller as an ecumenist.

They shared a lifelong engagement with questions of religion in which each man grappled with God in his own particular way. (Karl Barth played his part in the background to this debate.) In Jung's view religion was very significant for nearly all his patients, at least for those over the age of thirty-five. His dialogue about God with Keller the theologian is one of the first of its kind and is therefore of the greatest contemporary interest. Even today, not only theologians are confronted by religious questions, but also psychiatrists and psychologists, and conversely theologians must also grapple with psychic problems. For both Jung and Keller, what was important was lived experience—here in this mortal world. The human being, body, soul, and spirit—the wholeness of man—were central, but finally what counted was the well-being of humanity as a whole. For Keller, ethics were a central, lifelong concern and a major component of his ministry. Although less overtly, this was also true of Jung, who once wrote that it was his task to account for the conceptions of God "which decide our ethical behavior and have such an important influence on our practical life."[1]

Jung was a theoretical researcher, whose work was rooted in his practical experience as a psychiatrist; Keller was a practical, active minister

[1] Jung, *Answer to Job*, in C. G. Jung, *Psychology and Religion: West and East*, CW 11, paras. 553–758, Routledge 1970, para. 738. (R. F. C. Hull's translation).

with a keen interest in scholarly theology. Both were honorary professors, Keller at the University of Zurich and Jung at the ETH (Federal Polytechnic University in Zurich). Jung left behind a massive collection of written work, as did Keller. One might call them latter-day examples of the all-round polymath. Their interests were wide-ranging and extended far beyond their professional disciplines. They were both well-versed in the Koran; Keller even read it in classical Arabic. They both required periods of retreat and solitude, but were at the same time communicative and well-matched in their engagement with the world and their openness. "Through my acquaintance with many Americans, and my trips to and inside America, I have obtained an enormous amount of insight into the European character."[2] Although this is Jung, Keller might just as well have written it. They shared a love of all things English.[3] Both were active men, had huge reserves of creative energy, and distinguished themselves through their exceptional creativity. Without doubt these two old friends are among the great Swiss men of the twentieth century. Active throughout Europe, they also enjoyed much public recognition on the other side of the Atlantic.

Liber Novus, *The Red Book,* which was recently published for the first time, is the text to which Jung devoted himself from 1914 to 1930,[4] following his separation from Freud. This substantial volume caused a sensation, and contains, as Jung himself said, "the nucleus of his later works."[5] Jung's publications are currently being reissued, and new explorations of his life and work are constantly appearing. "Jung is a major figure in modern Western thought. . . . He played critical roles in the formation of modern psychology."[6] Keller's books, on the other hand, are gathering dust on library shelves, despite the fact that much that he inaugurated survives and continues to serve as role models. These include Keller's mediation between the American and European churches after the First World War, his worldwide social and humanitarian engagement, which in part lives on in the World Council of Churches in Geneva, and his ecumenical education work that is carried on at the Bossey Ecumenical Institute. The Swiss Church Aid organization HEKS can indirectly be traced back to him, and the Federation of Swiss Protestant Churches descends directly

[2] Jung, *Memories. Dreams and Reflections*, p. 275.
[3] Both spoke English and French fluently.
[4] C. G. Jung, *The Red Book. Liber Novus.* Norton, New York, 2009.
[5] Ibid., "Introduction" (Sonu Shamdasani), p. 193.
[6] Ibid. p.193.

from Keller, whose driving force he was for many years. His efforts for Jewish refugees in the Nazi period are unrivalled.

At the heart of this book is Keller's dialogue with C. G. Jung and with analytical psychology. Jung, for his part, had a keen life-long interest in religion and, if less developed, in theology. Indeed, he was personally acquainted with several theologians, but these relationships were rather few and far between before 1945, compared with his relationship with Keller in any case.[7] He was emphatically in favor of collaboration between psychologists and theologians in the therapy of psychically burdened people. Keller, in turn, had been interested in psychology since his student days, and early on pursued a dialogue with C. G. Jung as did no other theologian of his generation. He and his student friend Oskar Pfister were pioneers of so-called pastoral psychology, which aroused the interest of theologians more broadly only after the Second World War and, increasingly, from around 1970.[8]

This introduction consists of two parts. After a brief overview of Jung and Keller's youth and their early professional lives, Part I covers their acquaintance from 1907 until 1943. Only a few letters survive from this period, the earliest originating with Jung in 1915. However, there are various other documents related to the relationship and the collaboration of the two protagonists, such as records of conversations and lectures. Thus, we hear Jung and Keller's authentic voices not only in the letters, but also in Part I of this book. Part II consists of the correspondence (annotated by the editor), which by and large commences in 1943, in the latter stages of their relationship. Keller's article on the occasion of Jung's 60th birthday is appended.

[7] Along with Oskar Pfister (1873–1956) a postive exception was Hans Wegmann (1889–1973) with whom Jung exchanged several letters between 1937 and 1945, and whom he once invited to a lecture. The renowned theology professor Paul Tillich, who developed a theory of religious symbols, was influenced by C. G. Jung's concept of the "collective unconscious." See Werner Schüssler and Erdmann Sturm, *Paul Tillich. Leben—Werk—Wirkung*, Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft 2007, p. 47f.

[8] Examples from the post-war period are the Protestant theologians Otto Haendler, Walter Uhsadel, Eduard Thurneysen, Hans Schär, Paul Fredi de Quervain, and Walter Bernet, and, foremost, the English Dominican Father Victor White. Most recently this would include Wolfgang Schildmann and Susanne Heine.

Register of Persons

Adler, Alfred (1870–1937), Austrian psychiatrist.
Anderson, Eugene (1887–1984), American historian, professor in Chicago, later in Los Angeles.
Aquinas, Thomas (1225/1226–1274), Dominican, theologian.
Aristotle (384–322 BCE), Greek philosopher.
Bach, Johann Sebastian (1685–1750).
Badrutt, Caspar (1848–1902), hotelier in Grisons, Switzerland; developer of winter sports.
Bally, Gustav (1893–1966), German psychiatrist, professor of psychotherapy in Zurich from 1956.
Barth, Karl (1886–1968), professor of systematic theology, in Germany until 1935, later in Basel.
Baudouin, Charles (1893–1963), French psychoanalyst who positioned himself between Freud and Jung.
Baumann-Jung, Gret (1906–1995), daughter of C. G. and Emma Jung, astrologist.
Bergson, Henri (1859–1941), French philosopher.
Bernet, Walter (1925–2000), professor of practical theology, Zurich.
Bernhard, prince consort of the Queen Juliana of the Netherlands (1911–2004).
Besson, Marius (1876–1945), Catholic bishop of Lausanne, Geneva, and Fribourg.
Binswanger, Ludwig (1881–1966), psychiatrist, leader of the Bellevue clinic in Kreuzlingen, Switzerland from 1911.
Binswanger, Robert (1850–1910), father of Ludwig, psychiatrist in Kreuzlingen, Switzerland.
Bircher-Benner, Maximilian (1867–1939), doctor and nutritional scientist, ran a clinic in Zurich.
Bleuler, Eugen (1857–1939), head of the Burghölzli psychiatric clinic in Zurich.

Blumhardt, Christoph the younger (1842–1906), theologian, successor of his father; father-in-law of Richard Wilhelm.
Blumhardt, Johann Christoph (1805–1880), German theologian, pioneer of psychotherapy.
Böhme, Jakob (1575–1624), German, shoemaker and self-educated theologian and philosopher.
Bonhoeffer, Dietrich (1906–1945), German theologian, murdered for his opposition to Nazism.
Brandt, Lewis Wolfgang (b.1921), psychoanalyst, professor in California and Canada.
Brunner, Emil (1889–1966), professor of systematic theology in Zurich, friend of Keller.
Buber, Martin (1878–1965), philosopher.
Buchman, Frank (1878–1961) American theologian, founder and leader of the Oxford Group movement.
Bultmann, Rudolf (1884–1976), professor of New Testament in Marburg, Germany.
Burckhardt, Carl J. (1891–1974), historian, diplomat, president of the International Red Cross.
Burckhardt, Jacob (1818–1897), professor of history and history of art in Basel.
Churchill, Winston (1874–1965) British politician.
Claparède, Eduard (1875–1940), psychologist and educator in Geneva.
Coleridge, Samuel Taylor (1772–1834), English theologian and poet.
Conover Mellon, Mary (1904–1946), wife of Paul Mellon, driving force behind the founding of the Bollingen Foundation in Washington in 1942.
Corbin, Henry (1903–1978), French religious scholar.
Corti, Walter Robert (1910–1990), publicist, founder of the Pestalozzi children's village for war orphans in Trogen, Switzerland.
Darwin, Charles Robert (1809–1882), natural scientist.
Descartes, René (1596–1650), French philosopher.
Dewey, John (1859–1918), American philosopher and educator.
Duhm, Bernhard (1847–1928), Dutch professor of Old Testament in Basel.
Dulles, Allan Welsh (1893–1969), American diplomat, head of the CIA from 1953.
Dürckheim, Karl Friedrich Graf (1896–1988), diplomat and psychotherapist.
Eckhart, Meister (c.1260–1328), German Dominican, mystic.

Einstein, Albert (1879–1955), German physicist, lived in Switzerland and later the United States.
Eliasberg, Wladimir (1887–1969), German psychiatrist, emigrated to the United States.
Eliot T(homas) S(tearns) (1888–1965), Anglo-American poet.
Falke, Konrad (1880–1942), German author.
Fareed, Omar J. (died 1996), American doctor.
Fierz, Jürg (b.1918), editor in Zurich.
Fierz-David, Linda Emma (1891–1955), a writer closely linked to Jung.
Flournoy, Théodore (1854–1929), professor of psychology in Geneva.
Flüe, Niklaus von (1417–1487), Swiss hermit.
Forel, Auguste (1848–1931), psychiatrist in western Switzerland.
Frei, Gebhard (1905–1968), professor of philosophy and history of religion at Brother Klaus Seminar, Schöneck-Beckenried, Switzerland.
Freud, Sigmund (1856–1939), founder of psychoanalysis.
Fröbe-Kapteyn, Olga (1881–1962), founder of the Eranos Foundation, Ascona, Jung's friend.
Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von (1749–1830), German writer and poet.
Görres, Albert (1918–1996), psychoanalyst, professor in Mainz and Munich.
Gut, Walter (1885–1961), theologian and psychiatrist, professor of theology at the University of Zurich.
Häberlin, Paul (1878–1960), theologian, seminar director in Kreuzlingen, then professor of philosophy, education and psychology at the University of Bern, later in Basel.
Haendler, Otto (1890–1981), theology professor in the German Democratic Republic.
Hamann, Johann Georg (1730–1788), philosopher in Königsberg, Prussia.
Hannon, Stuart, (1953–1954), American attaché in Bern.
Harnack, Adolf von (1851–1930), professor of church and doctrinal history in Berlin.
Hartmann, Eduard von (1842–1906), German philosopher.
Heine, Susanne (b.1942 in Prague), professor of practical theology and psychology of religion in Vienna.
Hesse, Hermann (1877–1962), writer.
Holmes, Ernest Shurtleff (1887–1960), American theologian.
Hornaday, William H. D. (1911–1992), minister of the Founder's Church of Religious Science in Los Angeles.

Hume, David (1711–1776), Scottish philosopher.
Hurwitz, Siegmund (d. 1994), Jung's dentist and a psychotherapist.
Hu-Shi (1891–1942), Chinese diplomat und philosopher.
Huxley, Aldous (1894–1963), British writer.
Jacobi, Friedrich Heinrich (1743–1819), German philosopher.
Jacobi, Jolande (1890–1973), Hungarian, colleague of C. G. Jung, writer.
Jaffé, Aniela (1903–1991), from Berlin, colleague of C. G. Jung from 1955, writer.
James, William (1842–1910), American philosopher.
Jésus-Marie, Bruno de (1892–1962), Carmelite, interested in mysticism and psychology.
Jung-Rauschenbach, Emma (1882–1955), C. G. Jung's wife, five children, active as an analyst.
Kaftan, Julius Wilhelm Martin (1848–1926), theology professor in Berlin.
Kant, Immanuel (1724–1804).
Karl V (1500–1558), Holy Roman Emperor from 1520 to 1551.
Kassner, Rudolf (1873–1959), Austrian cultural philosopher.
Keller, Doris (Sträuli) (1912–2003), oldest daughter of Adolf and Tina Keller.
Keller, Margrit (1916–1997), nurse, daughter of Adolf and Tina Keller, C. G. Jung's god-daughter.
Keller, Paul (1914–1998), son of Adolf and Tina Keller, lived in California.
Keller, Pierre (b.1927), diplomat and banker, son of Adolf and Tina Keller.
Keller-Jenny, Tina (1887–1985), psychiatrist, Adolf Keller's wife, five children.
Keyserling, Hermann Alexander Graf (1880–1946), from Estonia, lived in Germany, philosophical writer.
Kirsch, James Isaac (1901–1989), psychiatrist, lived in Los Angeles from 1940. Founder and president of the Analytical Psychology Club of Los Angeles and the Society of Jungian Analysts in Los Angeles, translator of Jung's *Answer to Job*.
Klepper, Jochen (1903–1942), German writer.
Kluger-Schärf, Rivkah (1907–1987), theologian and psychoanalyst in Zurich, later lived in California.
Köberle, Adolf (1898–1990), professor of systematic theology in Tubingen, Germany.

Kutter, Hermann (1863–1931), minister in Zurich, co-founder of the Christian Socialist movement of Switzerland.
Laotse (between 600 and 300 BCE.), Chinese philosopher.
Lavater, Johann Caspar (1741–1801), minister at St. Peter's in Zurich, author of the *Physiognomic Fragments*.
Lienert, Meinrad (1895–1970), Swiss publicist.
Lincoln, Abraham (1809–1865), American president.
Lippmann, Walter (1889–1974), American publicist.
Livingstone, David (1813–1873), missionary and explorer in Central Africa.
Locke, John (1632–1704), English philosopher.
Luce, Henry (1898–1967), American publisher.
Luther, Martin (1483–1546), monk, father of the Reformation.
Maag, Victor (1910–2002), professor of Old Testament and history of religion in Zurich.
Maeder, Alphonse (1882–1971), psychiatrist, initially a supporter of C. G. Jung, moving later to Christian circles.
Maier, Hans (1882–1945), head doctor of the Burghölzli psychiatric clinic, Zurich.
Mann, Thomas (1875–1955), German poet.
Martin, Percival William (1893 - 1972), English writer.
Massignon, Louis (1883–1962), French Islamic scholar.
Mellon, Paul (1907–1999), husband of Mary Conover Mellon, American patron of the arts.
McCormick, Harold (1872–1941), American businessman, patron of the arts, husband of Edith, née Rockefeller.
McCormick Muriel (1903–1959), daughter of Harold and Edith McCormick.
McCormick Mathilde (1906–1947), daughter of Harold and Edith McCormick.
Meier, Carl Alfred (1905–1995), Dr. med., psychiatrist, secretary of the international General Medical Society for Psychotherapy, from 1948 president of the C. G. Jung Institute, professor at the ETH, Zurich.
Mensendieck, Otto (b.1871), philologist and educator from Hamburg, worked as analyst at the Bircher Benner clinic, was a note-taker along with Toni Wolff at the Association of Analytical Psychology.
Meyer, Adolf (1866–1950), Swiss-American psychiatrist.
Meyer, Arnold (1861–1934), professor of New Testament in Zurich.
Meyer, Karl (1885–1944), historian, professor at the ETH Zurich.

Moltzer, Maria (1874–1944), Dutch colleague of Jung, analytical therapist in Zurich.
Niebuhr, Reinhold (1892–1971), German-American theologian, professor of ethics and philosophy of religion.
Niemöller, Martin (1892–1984), German clergyman who resisted Nazism.
Nietzsche, Friedrich (1844–1900), philosopher.
Oeri, Albert (1875–1950), editor and member of parliament, lifelong friend of C. G. Jung.
Otto, Rudolf (1869–1937), theologian and religious scholar.
Perini, Elisa (1897–1966), secretary and colleague of Adolf Keller.
Peyrefitte, Roger (1907–2000), French writer.
Pfister, Oskar (1873–1956), clergyman and psychologist in Zurich, friend of Keller.
Pius XII (1876–1958), pope from 1939 until his death.
Plato (428 or 427–348 or 347 BCE.).
Post, Laurens van der (1906–1996), South-African / British writer.
Pribilla, Max (1874–1956), German Jesuit, editor of *The Voices of the Time*, friend of Keller.
Pythagoras of Samos (c. 570–c. 480), mathematician and philosopher.
Ragaz, Leonhard (1868–1945), clergyman and theology professor in Zurich, co-founder of the Christian Socialist movement of Switzerland.
Rauschenbach-Schenk, Bertha (1856–1932), C. G. Jung's mother-in-law.
Rauschning, Hermann (1887–1982), German politician, initially a member of and later an opponent of the Nazi Party.
Riklin, Franz (1878–1938), psychiatrist, close collaborator of Jung.
Rilke, Rainer Maria (1875–1926), poet from Prague, itinerant throughout much of Europe.
Ritschl, Albrecht (1822–1889), theology professor in Göttingen, Germany.
Rockefeller McCormick, Edith (1882–1932), sister of John D. Rockefeller Jr., wife of Harold McCormick, patient of C. G. Jung and Adolf Keller.
Rockefeller, John D. Jr. (1864–1960), brother of Edith Rockefeller McCormick, patron of the arts.
Saxer, Walter (1896–1974), professor of mathematics at the ETH Zurich.
Shamdasani, Sonu (b.1962), professor of history of analytical psychology, London.

Schär, Hans (1910–1968), professor of practical theology in Bern, friend of Jung.
Schelling, Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph (1775–1854), German philosopher.
Schildmann, Wolfgang (b. 1941), theologian and psychologist.
Schiller, Friedrich von (1759–1805), German poet
Schindler, Dietrich (1890–1948), professor of constitutional and international law in Zurich.
Schleiermacher, Friedrich Daniel Ernst (1768–1834), theologian in Berlin.
Schumacher, Karl von (1894–1957), lawyer, published and editor of the "Weltwoche" in Zurich.
Schuhmacher, Joseph (b.1934), Roman-Catholic professor of foundational theology in Freiburg, Germany.
Schweitzer, Albert (1875–1965), theologian, humanitarian, writer.
Silberschmidt, Max (1899–1989), professor of modern American history in Zurich.
Sinclair, Upton (1878–1968), American writer.
Socrates (c. 470–399 BCE).
Stanley, Henry Morton (1841–1904), explorer of Africa.
Sulzer, Hans (1876–1959), Swiss industrialist and diplomat.
Sykes, Gerald (1904–1984), American writer, critic and philosopher.
Tappolet, Walter (1897–1991), musician and publicist.
Temple, William (1881–1944), Anglican archbishop of Canterbury.
Thurneysen, Eduard (1888–1977), minister at Basel cathedral, professor of practical theology, close friend of Karl Barth.
Tillich, Paul (1886–1977), theology professor in Germany active in resistance, emigrated to United States.
Toynbee, Arnold (1889–1975), British historian.
Uhsadel, Walter (1900–1985), professor of practical theology, Tubingen, Germany.
Voegelin, Eric (1901–1985), German-American sociologist and political scientist.
Wegmann, Hans (1889–1973), clergyman in Zurich, interested in psychology.
White, Victor (1902–1960), English Dominican, correspondent with Jung.
Wildberger, Hans (1910–1986), professor of Old Testament and history of religion in Zurich.
Wilhelm, Richard (1973–1930), German, initially a missionary in China, then professor of Sinology in Frankfurt am Main.

Wolf-Ferrari, Ermanno (1874–1932), German-Italian composer, lived in Zurich.
Wolff, Toni (1888–1953), colleague and confidante of Jung, psychotherapist.
Wylie, Philip (1902–1971), American writer.
Zacharias, Gerhard (b.1923), German theologian, interested in Jung's psychology.
Zarathustra (between 1000 and 600 BC), prophet, founder of Zoroastrianism.
Ziskind, Eugene (1900–1993), American professor of psychiatry.

Abbreviations

C	Card
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
ETH	Zurich Technical University
GA	Collected works of Karl Barth
CW	Collected Works C. G. Jung
H	Handwritten
Hs 1056 (ETH)	These numbers identify the letters between Jung and Keller and Tina Keller-Jenny
KJV	King James Version of the Bible
KBA	Karl Barth Archive Basel
L	Letter
MDR	C. G. Jung's *Memories Dream and Reflections* (1961)
NLAK	Estate of Adolf Keller in: Private archive of P. Keller
NLTK	Estate of Tina Keller in: Private archive of P. Keller
NZZ	*Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (New Zurich newspaper)
RGG	Religion in History and Today Lexicon
SEK	Swiss Protestant Church
StAZ	National Archive Zurich
T	Typewritten
TVZ	Theological Press Zurich
ZB	Central Library Zurich

On Theology and Psychology

Part I

From Beginnings to 1943

One

Adolf Keller's and C. G. Jung's Development up to 1909

a. Adolf Keller (1872–1963)

Adolf Keller's original interest in the human psyche developed while a theology student during his two semesters in Berlin in 1894–1895. Around the turn of the twentieth century the capital of the Wilhelmine *Reich* was the mecca of Protestant theology. It was here that the brilliant Adolf von Harnack[1] was lecturing on the New Testament and early church history. He was an advocate of liberal theology and thus of a historico-critical approach to the Bible. Keller attended his lectures as a matter of course—but also those of Julius Kaftan,[2] whose social engagement impressed him as much as his theological approach: Taking the historic experience of God in Jesus Christ as its starting point, Kaftan's theology conveyed a mystical overtone. In line with Kant's "Primacy of Practical Reason," he considered religion to be a "practical concern of the human spirit."[3] Keller came from a religiously conservative milieu and had already encountered liberal theology in his first semesters in Basel, being deeply unsettled by it. In contrast, Kaftan's principles, based as they were on human experience, were completely new to him.

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[1] Adolf von Harnack (1851–1930).

[2] Julius Wilhelm Martin Kaftan (1848–1926), theology professor in Basel, located in Berlin from 1883.

[3] Werner Raupp, *Kaftan, Julius Wilhelm Martin, ev. Theologe*, in Bautz, Traugott (ed.), *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, Vol. XIV Col. 1128–1133.

Adolf Keller had spent his childhood in Rüdlingen in the canton of Schaffhausen. The village is near the Rhine and surrounded by wonderful countryside that imprinted itself deeply on Keller. A dream of his from decades later, which plays an important role in several letters between him and C. G. Jung, is good evidence of this.[4] The son of a teacher, Adolf Keller's religious socialization in his parental home was influential throughout his life. He experienced this as a positive thing. He would later write that his parents had stayed together "thanks to their religious faith" and their five children, despite the couple's different temperaments.[5] They were orthodox, conservatively minded, his father in rather a sober way, his emotional mother more piously. In fact Keller had to endure his father as his strict primary school teacher for six years. His father recognized the son's outstanding intelligence and set the bar high for him. In his father's religious-education classes, son Adolf had to learn by heart hundreds of Bible verses. However, this stood him in good stead later. As an older man, Adolf Keller acknowledged that his mother's trusting and joyful faith had influenced him in an enduring way.[6] It was taken for granted that he would study theology.

Keller attended the classics section of the Schaffhausen gymnasium. He enjoyed every subject—except for mathematics.[7] He began and completed the greater part of his theology studies in Basel. As already mentioned, his encounter with liberal theology during his student days at Basel University and in Berlin was unsettling:[8] in his head he was a "pagan," in his heart a "Christian."[9] Although skeptical, he felt he resonated with the lectures of the moderately liberal Old Testament scholar Bernhard Duhm,[10] but favored more conservatively minded theologians. He struggled to reconcile his traditional view of faith with modern theology, ultimately accepting modern biblical criticism. Until the publication of Karl Barth's *The Epistle to the Romans* at the end of 1918 he belonged to the so-called theological mediators,[11] deplored the ongoing theological infighting, and

[4] See letters 24 and 26 below.

[5] Keller, *Aus meinem Leben*, 1940, 281 pages (private archive of P. Keller), p. 45. On Keller's origins and youth, see Marianne Jehle-Wildberger, *Adolf Keller. Ecumenist, World Citizen, Philanthropist*, Cascade Books, Eugene Oregon / Cambridge GRB: Wipf and Stock / The Lutterworth Press, 2013. Translated by Mark Kyburz with John Peck.

[6] Keller, *Aus meinem Leben*

[7] Jung similarly, see below I, 1b) footnote I, 55.

[8] See pp. 3–4, above.

[9] Keller, *Curriculum vitae*, 1896 (T30a, 16, national archive, Zurich).

[10] Bernhard Duhm (1847–1928), see II "On the Letters," p. 101 and letter 59.

[11] See M. Jehle-Wildberger, *Adolf Keller. Ecumenist, World Citizen, Philanthropist*, p. 6.

longed for a "prophet" who would create a new theology and bring the unholy bickering to an end.[12]

Keller's psychiatrist wife Tina Keller-Jenny wrote after the death of her husband: "Adolphe had a wide Christianity. It was very real, but it had nothing of narrow sectarianism. It was a feeling-relation to a worldwide God, he would express this in saying that he felt himself 'safe in the everlasting arms.' This was not just something that he said, but one felt that it was deeply experienced."[13] The Keller's oldest daughter writes that her parents were genuine in their religion, not sanctimonious, "simply—real."[14]

As a student in Basel, Keller joined the Schwizerhüsli, the student fraternity of the local pietistic, politically conservative milieu. They gave reciprocal talks on various themes. To the amazement of his fellow students, Keller spoke on the equality of women (in Basel, women were not yet admitted to the University), and, in 1894, on suicide, a taboo subject. Also unusually, he immersed himself in philosophy, learned classical Arabic, passionately played the piano and organ, and attended art exhibitions. One of Keller's student colleagues in Basel was Oskar Pfister, who also stood out due to his expansive mind. Originating in the liberal Protestant milieu of Zurich, he was also dissatisfied with the theological *status quo* and especially with "traditional pastoral care."[15] The two friends reconnected later in the circle around C. G. Jung.

Keller completed his theology degree with distinction. Even after finishing his degree he kept up with developments in the humanities and read the most important new theological publications. However, he considered the focus of his work to be in practical church ministry. Accordingly he turned his interest to the nature and the work of the human being, as he had particularly learned to do from Kaftan.

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[12] Keller to Leonhard Ragaz, 1 May 1924 (WI 67 103.2 Zurich cantonal archive), cf. I, 2b), p. 29. below and footnote 61, p. 29. Ragaz was co-founder of "religious socialism," the third way in Protestant theology in addition to orthodoxy and liberalism. Keller was close to Ragaz's views without directly belonging to his movement.

[13] Tina Keller: *In Memoriam*, Manuscript 1972 (private archive of P. Keller). Tina Keller wrote fluent English. Cf. Spring books: *The Memoir of Tina Keller-Jenny: A Lifelong Confrontation with the Psychology of C. G. Jung*. Ed. Wendy K Swan. New Orleans: Spring Journal Books, 2011.

[14] Doris Sträuli-Keller, *Erinnerungen—und jetzt*, typescript 2000, 2 (Sulzberg Institute archive, Winterthur).

[15] Isabelle Noth, *Freuds bleibende Aktualität. Psychoanalyserezeption in der Pastoral- und Religionspsychologie im deutschen Sprachraum und in den United States,* Stuttgart, Kohlhammer Verlag 2010, p. 74.

A brief outline of the first stages of his professional life:[16] In 1896 Keller took up his first appointment at the German Protestant church in Cairo whose members included both German and French-speaking Swiss. This was a courageous decision. He came in contact with representatives of the English occupying forces and with members of the resident Muslim, Coptic, Greek-Orthodox, and Jewish populations. A sojourn of several weeks in the Sinai Desert and, in particular, a lonely night on Mount Sinai made profound religious impressions on him.[17] Keller left Egypt in 1899 as a multilingual, cosmopolitan man.

His next posting was at the Church "auf Burg" beside Stein am Rhein, where he had a more leisurely time after the hectic environment of Cairo. He became a friend of Albert Schweitzer[18] in Strasburg, sharing with him the love of the piano and organ, and of Johann Sebastian Bach. Particularly relevant to our context, he also socialized regularly with the psychiatrist Robert Binswanger, who was leading the Bellevue Sanatorium in nearby Kreuzlingen into the second generation. The Bellevue was one of the best-known private psychiatric clinics on German-speaking territory. The doctors lived in a therapeutic community with the patients. "Humanity in psychiatry, a high medical ethos, forward-planning, and economic competence"[19] were the distinctive features of the clinic. Robert Binswanger was in contact with Sigmund Freud. It was in Kreuzlingen, following the encounter with Julius Kaftan in Berlin, that the second foundation stone in Keller's interest in psychology was laid.

In 1902 he wrote his first article for the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, entitled "The Latest Propaganda for a Philosophy of the Sub-conscious."[20] It

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[16] More information on Keller's youth, studies, and his four parishes can be found in M. Jehle-Wildberger: *Adolf Keller, Ecumenist, World Citizen, Philanthropist*, pp. 1–28.

[17] See Jung, re. *Answer to Job* in the correspondence, letter 42, and in II, "On the Letters," p. 92.

[18] Albert Schweitzer (1875–1965), theologian, philosopher, musician, and physician. Founder and head of Lambarene. See letters 59, 63, 64, 65, 73, 74, 75, 76.

[19] Roland Kley, *Wachstum, Geld und Geist: Der Ökonom Hans Christoph Binswanger*, St. Gallen: VGS 2010, 38. On Robert Binswanger's son, the psychiatrist Ludwig Binswanger, see I, 2a), p. 14 below.

[20] Keller: *The Latest Propaganda for a Philosophy of the Sub-Conscious*, *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, No. 158, morning edition, Monday 9 June 1902. Eduard von Hartmann (1842–1906) stressed that he recognized the true concept of the unconscious (or the subconscious as it was often then called) as an area that was counterposed to consciousness. Cf. *Historical Dictionary of Philosophy* (Pub.: Joachim Ritter/Karlfried Gründer/Gottfried Gabriel), Vol. 11, Basel 2001, p. 127. Ultimately the acceptance of unconscious processes goes back to Plato and Plotinus. Arthur Drews's book *Eduard von Hartmanns philosophisches System im Grundriss* (1902) was the impetus for Keller's article.

considered the philosophical work of Eduard von Hartmann (1842–1906), particularly his "Philosophy of the Unconscious." Keller shared Hartmann's view that the metaphysical need of man was ineradicable, stressing that a purely materialist worldview had been repudiated even by many scientists. In response to the widespread allegation that Hartmann had based his philosophy on the principle of the unconscious, Keller points out that this unconscious is not a negative concept, but is the absolute, knowing, and desiring being, which simply operates in a different form from consciousness. He felt it should be welcomed that Hartmann was contrasting the psyche, in which a mass of processes are taking place, with Descartes' rationalist "cogito ergo sum."[21] However, he had to disagree when Hartmann represented Christianity only as a necessary intermediary stage on the path towards a pantheistic future religion. In his youth, Jung too had immersed himself in Eduard von Hartmann's[22] philosophy.

In 1904 Keller became minister of the German Reformed Church in Geneva. Despite his substantial workload, in the course of his five years there he attended all of the psychology courses given by the university professor Theodore Flournoy[23]. He sought to know more about the inner life of man because as a minister in that city he often met people suffering from psychological or social problems, both of which troubled Keller very much. Like Sigmund Freud and C. G. Jung, Flournoy's roots were in medicine. And like Freud, he longed to find a gateway to the unconscious.[24] In collaboration with William James, he established the psychology of religion.[25] James was one of the first to speak of the "unconscious mind," and along with John Dewey[26] he is considered the father of American Pragmatism.[27] Flournoy gave lectures lasting two hours on "experimental

[21] Cf. René Descartes (1596—1650), *Meditations on First Philosophy* (1641), Hamburg: Felix Meiner Verlag, 1959, p. 46: Ego sum, ego existo, certum est [I am, I exist, this is certain]. Cf. René Descartes, *Discours de la Méthode* (1637), Hamburg: Felix Meiner Verlag, 1960, p. 54: "Je pense, donc je suis." [I think therefore I am].

[22] See below, I, 1b) p. 13.

[23] Théodore Flournoy (1854–1929).

[24] Flournoy is considered, with Eduard Claparède—with whom he edited the first Swiss psychological journal, the *Archives de Psychologie de la Suisse romande*—and Jean Piaget, as a leading advocate of the "Geneva School."

[25] William James (1842–1910), American philosopher.

[26] John Dewey (1859–1952), American philosopher and pedagogue. His book *Democracy and Education,* New York: Macmillan, 1916, was groundbreaking; see letter 68.

[27] Keller, *Aus der Frühzeit der psychoanalytischen Bewegung,* offprint from *Swiss Journal for Psychology and its Applications*, 1956, Vol. XV, No. 2, no page numbers.

psychology," followed by an hour of discussion.[28] On a smaller scale, he offered "special research and practical exercises in the experimental psychology laboratory," in which Keller also participated.[29] Flournoy investigated topical occurrences in a pragmatic way, and investigated parapsychological and pathological phenomena. Keller writes that Flournoy "was simultaneously a kind of town-wizard whom you always called on if there was a haunted house somewhere or when mediums like the well-known Hélène Smith were proclaiming their new gospels. Quite mercilessly, Flournoy exposed their revelations as having an indubitably psychological basis. We ourselves once sat up almost half the night in a haunted house waiting for a ghost who judiciously chose that very night not to appear."[30]

In 1907 Flournoy read about Freud, psychoanalysis, and the discovery of the unconscious as the basis of psychic disturbances. It impressed Keller that his teacher was "a thorough researcher," but at the same time a "warm and sincere Christian with a liberal bent"[31] who advocated a theology of experience. Keller did not complete any qualifications in psychology, but the depth of his studies was equal to a fully fledged graduate degree. He used his psychological knowledge in pastoral conversation: "It was as if one were able to break open a locked door through which one could penetrate into the inaccessible rooms of the mentally ill."[32] Notions such as "Jesus, the doctor of the soul" now appeared in Keller's sermons. He credited Jesus with the ability to embrace "the crippled soul" of man and to heal it.[33]

b. C. G. Jung (1875–1961)

C. G. Jung, who was three years younger than Keller, spent his grammar school and university years in Basel. It is interesting to compare his religious socialization with Keller's. Jung's father was a minister in Kleinhüningen near Basel. His parents, like Keller's, were of an orthodox pietistic persuasion, which was common among upper-class Basel families such as Jung's. However, the Jung household was not harmonious, since

[28] Cf. "Course Program of the University of Geneva," 1904–1907 (Archive of the University Library, Geneva).

[29] Ibid.

[30] Keller: *Aus meinem Leben*, pp. 49f.

[31] Ibid., p. 49.

[32] Ibid., p. 54.

[33] Keller's sermon on the healing of the paralyzed man, Mark 2:3–12, of 29 January 1905 (Adolf Keller's estate A, Private archive P. Keller).

the parental marriage was not a very happy one: They "made great efforts to live devout lives, with the result that there were angry scenes between them all too often."[34] Jung writes of "good parents."[35] However, he was a lonely child, often sickly and depressed. As an adolescent he frequently engaged in forthright discussions with his father on religious questions "which always left him dissatisfied."[36] While Jung experienced his father as kind and generous, he found his faith legalistic, unreflective, stifling, derivative, ultimately inauthentic.[37] "It was the tragedy of my youth that I saw my father cracking up before my eyes on the problem of his faith and dying an early death."[38] He had a strong, if partly problematic, relationship with his mother; he once wrote of his "mother complex."[39]

"Theology had alienated my father and me from one another."[40] The church became a source of "torment" for the youthful Jung.[41] Even as a twelve-year-old he had a striking daydream related to this: "I saw before me the cathedral, the blue sky. God sits on His golden throne, high above the world—and from under the throne an enormous turd falls upon the sparkling new roof, shatters it, and breaks the walls of the cathedral asunder. So that was it! I felt an enormous, an indescribable relief."[42] In retrospect Jung writes: "I began my career with repudiating everything that smelt of belief."[43] He decided upon the study of medicine. Religion, however, remained important to him, despite the negative experiences with his father. To apply to them Jung's reflections in his maturity on a generally one-sided development, "our advance has been much too rapid for the real man, which is why we have become lopsidedly intellectualistic and rationalistic. . . . Hence we see on all sides a mystic emotionality flaring up."[44]

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[34] Jung: *MDR*, p. 91.

[35] Ibid, p. 54.

[36] Ibid., p. 96. *C. G. Jung: Word and Image* (ed. Aniela Jaffé), Bollingen Series XCVII:2, Princeton Univ. Press, Princeton, 1979, p. 20.

[37] Jung: *MDR,* pp. 94ff.

[38] Jung to Walter Bernet, 13 June 1955, in C. G. Jung, *Letters,* Vol. 2, 1951–1961, p. 257. His father died in 1896. See: C. G. Jung, *Letters*, 2 vols., eds. Gerhard Adler with Aniela Jaffé. Bollingen Series XCV 1–2, Princeton Univ. Press, Princeton, 1972, 1975.

[39] On the "Mother Complex" see Jung to Rev. Dorothee Hoch, 28 May 1952, C. G. Jung, *Letters,* vol. 2, p. 65. See also: *C. G. Jung: Word and Image* (ed. Aniela Jaffé), p. 16

[40] Jung: *MDR*, p. 93. See Sonu Shamdasani, Introduction to *The Red Book,* p. 196.

[41] Jung: *MDR*, p. 45.

[42] Ibid., pp. 39–40.

[43] Jung to Victor White, 5 October 1945, in *The Jung-White Letters,* eds. Ann Conrad Lammers and Adrian Cunningham. Philemon Series, New York: Routledge, 2007, p. 6.

[44] Jung to Albert Oppenheimer, 10 October 1933, *C. G. Jung: Letters,* vol. I, pp. 128–129.

The *anima naturaliter religiosa* was a lifelong preoccupation of Jung's.[45] "Only the wise are ethical from sheer intellectual presumption, the rest of us need the eternal truth of myth," he wrote to Freud in 1910.[46]

As a medical student Jung joined the *Zofingia* student association and spent many happy hours there. *Zofingia* member Albert Oeri, whom he had known since childhood, became a close lifelong friend.[47] And here, in the *Zofingia,* the student Jung gave a series of extraordinary lectures on philosophical, psychological, literary, but especially religious themes.[48] He boldly juggled the teachings of Darwin, Socrates, Plato, Kant, Schopenhauer, von Hartmann, and Nietzsche with the works of Schiller and Goethe, the mysticism of Jakob Boehme,[49] and the theology of Albrecht

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[45] Anima naturaliter religiosa = the naturally religious soul. Cf. Tertullian, *Apologeticum* 17,6: "O testimonium animae naturaliter Christianae [What a testimony of the naturally Christian soul!] Jung studied the Church fathers intensively. See Aniela Jaffé, *From the Life and Work of C. G. Jung*. New and Expanded Edition, trans. R. F. C. Hull, and Murray Stein, p. 59.

[46] Cf. Jung to Freud, 11 February 1910: "Yet what infinite rapture and wantonness lie dormant in our religion, waiting to be led back to their true destination!" *The Freud/Jung Letters,* ed. William McGuire. London: Penguin, 1974, pp. 175–176

[47] Albert Oeri (1875–1950), chief editor of the *Basler Nachrichten* and National Council. Oeri was a committed opponent of National Socialism and worked hard in support of refugees. He often published articles by Adolf Keller, who held similar views. See below: I, 3b) p. 71. In his article on the occasion of Jung's 60th birthday entitled *Ein paar Jugenderinnerungen* in: *Die kulturelle Bedeutung der Komplexen Psychologie* (Ed. Psychologischer Club Zurich), Berlin: Julius Springer, 1935, pp. 524–528, Oeri writes: "In his mid-boyhood we visited the Jung family in the Kleinhüningen vicarage some Sunday afternoons. . . . Carl spontaneously befriended me on the very first visit because he thought me no 'gentleman's lad.'" Oeri and Jung were distant cousins. According to Oeri, even at grammar school Jung had "a lot going on in his head," but mathematically he was "an idiot." (p. 524f.). Jung himself confesses that he felt a "downright fear of the mathematics class," Jung *MDR*, 29. Cf., above I,1a) Oeri's daughter Marianne was Jung's goddaughter, and Jung's daughter Gret was Oeri's goddaughter.

[48] Jung, *The Zofingia Lectures 1896–1899*, tr. Jan van Heurck, introd. Marie-Louise von Franz. Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1983. In *Ein paar Jugenderinnerungen,* Oeri writes, "Carl—or 'steam-roller' as his old friends still call him—this being his old services name—was an exceedingly joyful member of the Zofingia student association" (ibid. p. 526). The minutes of the Zofingia note, "steam-roller" for whom the spiritual had gone to his head, proposed that we debate unresolved philosophical questions." This was "reasonable," but "steam-roller" mouthed on endlessly. According to Oeri, "steam-roller" often managed to intellectually dominate the unruly group of fifty or sixty students from every faculty and to magically transport them into speculative areas which were for by far the majority of us a foreign wonderland. When I took notes on his lecture 'Some Thoughts on Psychology,' I could have tabled thirty votes in the discussion" (ibid., p. 527).

[49] Jakob Böhme (1575–1624), a shoemaker and self-taught theologian and philosopher, who studied alchemy, astrology, the Kabbalah, and called himself the "philosopher of the simple," experienced visions. For him, God consists of both love and wrath, and thus creation is correspondingly good and evil. Jung: "The visionary genius of Jakob Böhme

Ritschl.[50] He commented himself: "People have every right to feel surprised to see a medical student abandon his craft during his clinical training to speak about theological issues."[51] He knew he was not winning any plaudits by doing so, but felt he had to do it because he hated error, because he wished to stand up for the truth.

It was his impression that one system or theory after another, whether in physics, chemistry, or biology, was beginning to falter:[52] "Science has not actually explained anything."[53]

> Physiologists are struggling to explain life in terms of natural laws. . . . They try desperately to force life into the system of natural laws, when life contradicts every law of nature. . . . The vital principle extends far beyond our consciousness. . . . Or as Schopenhauer says: "Consciousness is the object of a transcendental idea." . . . Let us boldly assign to this transcendental subject the name of *soul*.[54]

Jung abandoned the "consecrated ground of Kantian philosophy," and wished to find the forbidden "gates that bar our entrance into 'the realm of darkness'"—a phrase that would make people pay attention.[55] He came to the view that "The new empirical psychology furnishes us with data ideally designed to expand our knowledge of organic life and to deepen our views of the world."[56]

Jung sensed that the dilemma of man in the period before the First World War lay in no longer being able to derive any meaning from the rationality that had prevailed since the Enlightenment. In this he was like Henri Bergson. The novelists James Joyce, Robert Musil, and Marcel Proust followed a similar line, albeit several years later. In his search for

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recognized the paradoxical nature of the God-image and thus contributed to the further development of the myth. The mandala symbol sketched by Böhme is a representation of the split God, for the inner circle is divided into two semicircles placed back to back" (Jung, *MDR,* 333–334). Cf. the paradoxical nature of Yahweh in Jung's *Answer to Job*, in letter 42, and below II "On the Letters" p. 91ff.).

[50] Albrecht Ritschl (1822–1889), leading Protestant theologian.

[51] Jung, "Thoughts on the Interpretation of Christianity," in Jung: *The Zofingia Lectures,* para. 237.

[52] Jung, *Zofingia Lectures,* para. 43 (first lecture: November 1896).

[53] Ibid., para. 59.

[54] Jung, "Some Thoughts on Psychology," in *Zofingia Lectures*, para. 96. On the "vital principle" see Henri Bergson's *élan vital*, below I, 2b), p. 26.

[55] Ibid., para. 33. On Jung's comparable motif of the "Night Sea Journey" see below I, 2c) p. 30, footnote 67.

[56] Jung, ibid., para. 142.

new meaning and footholds, the medical student Jung placed his hope in empirical psychology.

In the Zofingia lectures, he severely criticized the theology of his time:

> The theologians, the administrators of religion, have been shouting themselves hoarse for years trying to fight the demon of disbelief. . . . But the sermons we are hearing give us no clue as to who really has something special to tell us, for among the products of this [the 19th] century is an execrable jargon of the pulpit, the 'language of Canaan,' which is used to cover up anything which could possibly offend anyone. If we listen to certain sermons without any preconceived ideas we will soon find ourselves all agog with notions about grace and plans of salvation."[57]

> "[Indeed,] *deeds* are needed to wake up religion, miracles are needed, and men endowed with miraculous powers. Prophets, men sent by God! Never has a religion sprung from a dry theoretician or a gushy idealist. Religions are created by men who have demonstrated with deeds the reality of mystery and of the "extrasensory realm.[58]

In the Middle Ages, the focal point of existence was located in the "inner life" of man; what counts today is unfortunately the external.[59]

In this critique Jung had in mind the traditional, orthodox theology of his father. However, he rejected even more critically "modern" theology such as he saw embodied in Albrecht Ritschl, one of the most renowned theologians of the nineteenth century. He claimed that if ethics are divorced from metaphysics, as Ritschl would have it, they have no ground to stand on: "If we view Christ as a human being, then it makes absolutely no sense to regard him as, in any way, a compelling model for our actions."[60] Ritschl refutes the unmediated relationship with God and Christ, that is, "any illuministic or subjective knowledge, and consequently also rejects the *unio mystica*, that object on which all medieval mysticism was focused and which was also the concern of the Pietists."[61] Jung had been fighting with all his might against this "Ritschlisation," which had

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[57] Ibid. para. 138.

[58] Ibid. [para 138] "On the "Prophet" see above I, 1a) p. 5 and below I, 3b), p. 70.

[59] Ibid., para. 168.

[60] Jung: *Thoughts on the Interpretation of Christianity,* ibid., para. 251. Von Hartmann had already stated this.

[61] "This is the way Ritschl analyzes objects of a religious nature, above all the problem of the *unio mystica*, the direct relationship of a human being to God and Christ that is claimed by many so-called pietists." Ibid., para. 255.

opened up "the abyss of anti-Christian notions" underlying his language.[62] In the Ritschlist cosmic drama, "God, Christ, and man play a truly pathetic role. . . . Every pagan has his gods to whom he can cry out when he feels sorrowful and afraid. . . . But Ritschl's Christian knows that his God exists only in church, school, and home. . . . And it is to this powerless God that a Christian is supposed to pray?"[63]

Much of what Jung later develops in his theories is already intimated in these lectures: the repudiation of rationalism, the critique of externalized religion, the emphasis on the value of the soul and thus on the religiosity of the Middle Ages and Pietism, the longing for *unio mystica*—and, as in Keller's work, the longing for a prophet.[64] And like Keller, Jung chose to privilege subjective experience even from his student days. Both are closely aligned to Pietism in which a personal relationship with a powerful God is vital. Further, both were open to stimuli from philosophy, literature, and art. They both admired the historian and art historian Jacob Burckhardt. Keller had attended his final lectures at university, and at about the same time Jung had done the same while at *gymnasium*.[65] Both distinguished themselves early on through diverse interests and unconventional thinking.

Even in his youth Jung had encountered psychology as well as parapsychology. His mother was interested in acausal phenomena. She organized séances with one of Jung's cousins acting as medium in which Jung often took part. Thus, for Jung "parapsychology was more than a subject for scientific research, experiment, and theory. His life was rich in personal experiences of spontaneous, acausal, or . . . paranormal phenomena."[66] At the suggestion of Eugen Bleuler,[67] later his boss at the Burghölzli psychiatric clinic in Zurich, he wrote his final medical dissertation on "The Psychology and Pathology of So-Called Occult Phenomena." This led him to study writings by Eduard von Hartmann, Sigmund Freud, William James,[68]

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[62] Ibid., para. 271.

[63] Ibid., para. 278. This is largely consistent with Karl Barth's critique of Ritschl and the concerns of dialectical theology. See below I, 3b.

[64] According to Susanne Heine, Jung oscillated between ontological and empirical statements: *Grundlagen der Religionspsychologie*, Gottingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 2005, p. 273 & p. 275.

[65] Jung mentions Burckhardt in *Symbols of Transformation*, CW 5, para. 45 (on Goethe's *Faust*) and paras. 21 & 107 (on Petrarch & St. Augustine).

[66] Aniela Jaffé, *From the Life and Work of C. G. Jung*, new expanded ed. Trans. R. F. C. Hull & Murray Stein. Einsiedeln, Daimon,1989, p. 1.

[67] Eugen Bleuler (1857–1939).

[68] Jung met William James during his trip to the United States with Freud in 1909.

and Theodor Flournoy, whom he visited several times in Geneva and describes thus: "Flournoy was far-sighted and saw things clearly. Through Freud's influence I had acquired knowledge but came to no clarity about it [aber nicht geklärt]. Flournoy taught me how to stand back from the object. . . . Flournoy was a cultivated and distinguished personality, very well educated, intellectually balanced, and had a differentiated feeling for proportion. All of this was very good for me."[69] Jung speaks of Flournoy as his "revered and fatherly friend."[70] Keller was of the same mind.

As already mentioned, even as a student Jung believed that "without the psyche there would be neither knowledge nor insight."[71] It made sense that he would set his sights on psychiatry, despite being a promising young internist.[72] In 1900 he became assistant doctor at the Burghölzli psychiatric clinic in Zurich. "It was an entry into the monastery of the world," says Jung in his *Memories*.[73] In the same year he read Freud's *Interpretation of Dreams*, although he did not fully understand it. Soon he came to the conclusion that his colleagues were interested only in the description of symptoms, diagnosis, and statistics, but not in the mentally ill person.[74] For him, though, what mattered was the wholeness of being.[75] The Senior Doctor, Eugen Bleuler, sought to have a human relationship with the patients, creating a collegial atmosphere among the doctors and doing his best to support them. A lively pioneering spirit prevailed at the clinic. However, his colleague Ludwig Binswanger of Kreuzlingen said that it was Jung who really set the place alight. Ludwig was the son of Robert Binswanger, who also spent some time at the Burghölzli as a young psychiatrist. Jung "immersed himself more deeply than almost anyone before in an investigative therapeutic relationship with his most seriously ill patients."[76] Thus, he achieved important discoveries very quickly, thanks to Bleuler and also to Freud, with whom he had a long conversation at their first meeting in Vienna in 1907.[77] It was Jung who introduced psychoanalysis to the Burghölzli, with some of the young doctors analyzing

[69] C. G. Jung, *MDR*, Appendix, as from the 1971 German edition only, 379 ("aber nicht geklärt:" I saw but undiscerningly).

[70] Ibid., p. 162.

[71] Jung, *MDR*. p.119.

[72] Ibid., p. 107.

[73] Ibid., p. 112.

[74] Ibid., p. 114ff.

[75] Ibid., p. 117: "In therapy the problem is always the whole person. . . . We must ask questions that challenge the whole personality."

[76] Ibid.

[77] Ibid., p. 73. See also Jung: *MDR*, p. 150.

each other. Jung also wrote his groundbreaking study on "dementia praecox" during this period.[78]

In 1907 The Freudian Society of Doctors was founded at the Burghölzli, which was renamed The Society for Freudian Research in 1908, perhaps because Keller's student colleague Oskar Pfister and the theologian and pedagogue Paul Häberlin, leader of the Kreuzlingen teacher training institute, now also took part in the meetings.[79] Evidently, both of the non-psychiatrists had been introduced to the Society by Ludwig Binswanger.[80] Other members were the two young psychiatrists Alphons Maeder and Franz Riklin, as well as several women, including Bleuler's wife and Jung's wife Emma Jung-Rauschenbach. Bleuler was the Society's president.

Jung ended his work at the clinic after personal and professional differences with Bleuler. Until then he had been living at the Burghölzli with his wife and children; at this point he moved into his new house in Kusnacht, where he set up a private practice. The patients whom he treated from then on were suffering largely from neurotic or depressive disorders. At this time Jung began to engage intensively with the mythology of different cultures, for he believed that psychoses could be treated only if one could understand their symbolism.[81] Thus he came to the revolutionary understanding that it was vital to differentiate between a "personal unconscious" acquired in the course of one's life, and a "collective unconscious," a piece of inherited psychic property. The relationship between the personal and collective unconscious occupied Jung throughout his entire life.

[78] Jung, "The Psychology of Dementia praecox," *New York Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*, 1909. Cf. Annatina Wieser, Ibid., p. 47.

[79] Wieser, ibid., p. 56ff.

[80] Häberlin was known to Binswanger from Kreuzlingen. Keller's student friend Pfister had been minister at the Dominican church in Zurich since 1902. In 1905 and 1906 Binswanger lived with Pfister in the vicarage.

[81] Jung, *MDR*, p. 131.

Two

Common Paths

Analytical Psychology and Christian Pastoral Ministry

a. Jung's Split from Freud and Keller's Siding with Jung

At the end of 1909 Keller became minister of St. Peter's parish church in Zurich. His vicarage was the Lavater house opposite the church. The historical "Lavater room" was his study.[1] Straightaway he became a member of the philosophical literary circle around Ernest Bovet, the scholar of Romance languages and literature, and often wrote articles on theological, philosophical, and psychological subjects in its journal *Wissen und Leben*. And he fraternized with C. G. Jung, whom he had first met in 1907. Early in 1909, even before Keller's move to Zurich, Jung had written to Freud: "We have discovered a new friend in Adolf Keller, the Protestant minister in Geneva, who is already diligently at work with psychoanalysis."[2]

[1] Johann Caspar Lavater (1741–1801), Minister of St. Peter's, was a charismatic theologian and writer and a friend of Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, of the painter Heinrich Füssli, and Goethe. His *Physiognomic Fragments* can be regarded as the precursor of modern psychology.

[2] Jung to Freud, 7 March 1909, in *Sigmund Freud—C. G. Jung: A Correspondence*, ed. William McGuire/Wolfgang Sauerländer (Zurich: Ex Libris, 1974), letter 133, p. 231. Cf. above I, 1a), p. 5.

In his memoir Keller wrote:

> Here in particular I must say a word about my acquaintance with analytical psychology, which I first encountered in its Freudian form in Geneva. In Zurich, Carl Jung was the established leader and prophet of this new school of psychology. My friend Oskar Pfister[3] and I were the only theologians who immediately recognized the significance of psychoanalysis for the psychology of religion, pastoral care, and pedagogy, and who collaborated in a small study group which originated at the Burghölzli with Bleuler, Jung, and other psychiatrists. The theologian was in fact a rather peculiar fellow in this circle, repeatedly having to voice his disagreement with any exclusive "psychologizing," and he was often sharply criticized and even ridiculed by the prevailing medical psychological worldview. This led perhaps to the boundaries between theology and psychology initially not being drawn clearly enough or to a withdrawal into a defensive position from which one could easily make petulant sorties.[4]

The mention of the Burghölzli in the memoir, written in 1940, and in Jung's letter to Freud at the beginning of 1909, intimates that even while in Geneva Keller took part a few times in meetings of the Society for Freudian Research. While he names Jung the "leader and prophet of this new school of psychology," he makes it clear that he does not blindly follow him.

Keller's admission into the Zurich circle around 1909 took place during an extremely fruitful but also conflict-ridden period in the development of psychoanalysis. Sigmund Freud's preeminence was not uncontested. Eugen Bleuler, almost the same age as Freud, already had his own views; Alfred Adler and C. G. Jung, almost a generation younger, were developing divergent views, as Ludwig Binswanger did later. Despite repeated attempts to reach a consensus, divisions were appearing. In 1910, the International Psychoanalytical Association (IPA) was founded in Nuremberg.[5] Bleuler did not attend. Jung was elected as president for a period of two years, with Franz Riklin as secretary. At this juncture, the Society for Freudian Research at the Burghölzli, of which Bleuler was the

[3] Oskar Pfister (1873–1956), Dr. phil., Minister of the former Dominican Church in Zurich. See above I, 1a), p. 5 and below I, 2a), p. 21.

[4] Keller, *Aus meinem Leben*, p. 58f. On the "study group" = Zurich regional group of the IPA (elsewhere known as the Swiss Psychoanalytic Association), see below I, 2a). Cf., Jung to Freud, 17 June 1910, in *C. G. Jung: Letters* I, pp. 1921.

[5] This was the second international psychiatrists' congress after Salzburg 1908.

president, was replaced by the new association, becoming the Zurich regional group of the IPA. Keller and Pfister were among the nineteen founding members, alongside the psychiatrists Jung, Riklin, and Alphonse Maeder. Ludwig Binswanger assumed—temporarily—the role of chair. Bleuler was peeved, but did join the new society after a few months, parting company again at the end of 1911.[6]

One thing is certain: The "question of the boundary between psychiatry and pastoral care" troubled both Keller and Pfister.[7] Although they were often criticized as outsiders among a preponderance of doctors, they both believed in the far-reaching compatibility of psychoanalysis and Christian ministry and strove to practice it. Early in 1912 Keller addressed the opponents of psychoanalysis among doctors and theologians, by then many, with these words:

> It cannot be denied that psychoanalysis contains an anarchic and dangerous element. We theologians should seriously consider whether we should leave this therapeutic method entirely to the doctors, were it not for the fact that such a large proportion of neurotic elements appear in those seeking our pastoral care, and that doctors on the whole did not display such a limited understanding of religious conflicts in their patients.[8]

Of the early period in the new Society, Keller wrote: "The regular discussions introduced us to the early drafts of Jung's writings. We practically witnessed the emergence of the book *Symbols of Transformation*. The group had a revolutionary spirit that manifested itself in a clear protest against society, tradition, and even theology and the church."[9] In Keller's view, this was a very lively, disputatious, and diligent group of psychologists.

Jung placed his confidence in Keller, giving him the drafts of *Symbols of Transformation*[10] to take on his honeymoon to Egypt at the beginning of 1912. In it, Jung outlined the theory of the collective unconscious and

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[6] On the Zurich regional group of the IPA, see Annatina Wieser, ibid., pp. 75ff.

[7] Keller, *Aus der Frühzeit der psychoanalytischen Bewegung,* Special off-print *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Psychologie und ihre Anwendungen*, 1956, Vol. XV, No. 2, pages unknown.

[8] Keller, *Ruhige Erwägungen im Kampfe um die Psychoanalyse*, in *Kirchenblatt für die reformierte Schweiz*, 3 and 10 February 1912, Nos. 5 and 6, p. 17–19 and 21–22, quote p. 22. Das *Kirchenblatt* was widely distributed. Cf. below I, 2e) p. 37.

[9] Keller, *Aus meinem Leben*, p. 59.

[10] Jung, *Symbols of Transformation,* Part I, 1911; Part II, 1912 (*Libido*). The drafts were probably of part I—quote taken from 2nd edition dated 1925.

its archetypes. Keller was to undertake complementary studies on the "world of the gods of ancient Egyptian mythology." To this end, Keller along with his young wife, Tina Keller-Jenny, visited ancient Egyptian temples, studying among other things the Ka and Ba sacrifices, and came to the conclusion that these "were also split-off figures from the world of the unconscious."[11] In his book, Jung interpreted material that Flournoy had collected from the dreams and fantasies of an American, Miss Frank Miller. In this way, he was employing William James's thesis that directed and fantasy thinking had to be differentiated. According to Jung, mythological themes survived in dreams and fantasies. He postulated a "phylogenetic [inherited] layer in the unconscious" that abounds in wisdom,[12] asserting that "we have become rich in knowledge, but poor in wisdom."[13] He wished to illuminate this wisdom in his book.[14]

Along with Bleuler, Jung, Pfister, and Ludwig Binswanger, Keller participated in the third International Psychoanalytic Congress in Weimar in 1911.[15] More than forty—and according to Keller more than a hundred[16]—psychologists and psychiatrists from Europe and America attended. To Keller, Freud seemed like "*the* scholarly magician with uncanny authority."[17] The later split in the psychoanalytic movement was ominously foreshadowed. "I experienced Freud as the older, more mature and experienced person, and myself as a son," writes Jung in his *Memories*; conversely, Freud chose Jung as his "crown prince"[18] in 1909, but

[11] Keller, *Aus der Frühzeit der psychoanalytischen Bewegung,* 1956. Keller's emphases. Ka is the personification of the life-force. Ka continues to exist after death and must be symbolically nourished. The Ba type of soul takes the form of a bird that soars up to heaven but also visits the mummy; cf. Helmuth von Glasenapp: *Die nichtchristlichen Religionen*, Fischer Bücherei, 1957, p. 34, 188.

[12] Shamdasani, Introduction, in *Liber Novus: The "Red Book" by C. G. Jung,* p. 197 (Reader's Edition, p. 13).

[13] Jung, *Symbols of Transformation*, para. 23.

[14] For Keller's thoughts on Jung's *Symbols of Transformation*, see below I, 2c), p. 34.

[15] In the photograph Freud and Jung stand next to each other in the center behind the row of seated women. Keller (with dark beard) can be seen in the second row from the back, far right. Friends Ludwig Binswanger und Oskar Pfister stand behind those seated, second and third from left. Cf. Isabelle Noth, *Freuds bleibende Aktualität*, p. 75. The First Congress had taken place in Salzburg in 1908, the second in Nuremberg in 1910.

[16] Keller, *Aus meinem Leben*, p. 59.

[17] Keller, *Aus den Anfängen der Tiefenpsychologie*, in *NZZ* (*Neue Zürcher Zeitung*), Sunday edition No.1966, 24 July 1955, p. 5.

[18] Jung, *MDR*, p. 158: "They [their dream discussions] meant a great deal to me, and I found our relationship exceedingly valuable. I regarded Freud as an older, more mature and experienced personality, and felt like a son in that respect." But during their shared voyage to the United States and their trip to Worcester, Massachusetts, in 1909, Freud resisted amplifying a dream with personal details ("But I cannot risk my authority!"), losing Jung's

wrote: "It is strange that on the very same evening when I formally adopted you as eldest son and anointed you—*in partibus infidelium*[19]—as my successor and crown prince, you should have divested me of my paternal dignity. . . ."[20] But in Weimar the tensions were not yet fully out in the open.

Keller wrote of the fourth International Congress in 1913 in Munich: "It was as if Jung was conjugating the psychological unity in the Oedipus myth, hence the opposition between 'fathers and sons'; . . . Jung was even then developing intimations of the polarity of all being . . . which only reveals itself in opposites with a compensatory function. In this, he was pressing on reverently and critically into the hidden darkness in order to taste of the tree of life and of knowledge."[21] Jung opposed Freud's thesis that every neurosis can be attributed to a sexual trauma: "From my practice, however, I was familiar with numerous cases of neurosis in which the question of sexuality played a subordinate part, other factors standing in the foreground—for example, the problem of social adaptation. . . ."[22] He understood libido as psychic energy without concretizing it unilaterally in sexuality as Freud did. The inevitable split loomed.

Pfister and Binswanger tended towards Freud, Flournoy to Jung: "His [Flournoy's] presence was a support to me," said Jung.[23] Keller also sided with Jung: "I [Keller] strongly rejected the purely sexual biologism of Freud to my friend Reverend Pfister. . . ."[24] Equally, the repudiation of religion by Freud—to him, belief in God was an illusion—alienated him; this was also true for Pfister. The friendship between Keller and Pfister was not seriously damaged since Keller always maintained a certain distance

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respect. Jung reviews in *MDR* several dreams that "presaged the forthcoming break with Freud" and paved the way to "The Sacrifice" section in *Symbols*; see *MDR* pp. 162–168.

[19] In partibus infidelium (Latin) = in the lands of the unbelievers; originally a description for Roman Catholic bishops in not (yet) Christianized countries. As "crown prince," Jung would have had to represent Freud's teaching particularly in groupings where this was not yet dominant.

[20] Freud to Jung, 16 April 1909, in *The Freud-Jung Letters*, ed. William McGuire, Penguin, 1974, p. 144. This letter is reproduced in Appendix I to *MDR*, pp. 361–363.

[21] Keller, *Aus den Anfängen der Tiefenpsychologie*, in *NZZ*, special edition, 24 July 1955, p. 5.

[22] Jung: *MDR* p. 147.

[23] Ibid., p. 378 und p. 166 of German edition only.

[24] Keller, *Aus meinem Leben*, p. 59. Freud did not in fact reduce sexuality in the narrow sense of the term. Keller was attacked in church circles for his psychological interests. John Kerr writes: "The argument finally subsided in a church newspaper where Adolf Keller . . . defended the Zurich version of psychoanalysis with the note that it was proving to be especially open to moral, religious, social, pedagogical concerns." In Kerr, *A Most Dangerous Method*, Vintage, 1994, p. 462. Cf. Keller's reviews in I, 2f) and footnote 1 on p. 66.

towards Jung, as did Pfister towards Freud, to whom he would later write: "I cherish a certain suspicion towards you, that you antagonize religion—as a religion."[25] Thus, Keller was for many years the only theologian who aligned himself with Jung.

In 1913 Keller wrote the articles on "Psychoanalysis" and "Psychotherapy" for the first edition of the renowned theological encyclopedia RGG,[26] evidence that he was considered an expert in this area. Keller's articles offered some theologians a first insight into this new material. With reference to writings by Freud, Jung, Bleuler, Pfister, and August Forel and to Freud's periodical *Imago*,[27] he postulated that the neurotic illnesses—hysteria, compulsions, anxieties, inhibitions—were attributable to a psychic disturbance, not an organic one, in contradiction to prevailing beliefs. For this reason, they required a "psychic treatment."[28] Often the patient's insight into the reasons for his pathological symptoms would be sufficient to elicit a cure. Sometimes, however, a "psychoanalytic technique" would be required to make conscious the conflicts that had been repressed into the unconscious. These techniques include dream interpretation, the association experiment, or as Freud teaches, the working through of sexuality; Jung's "Zurich school" attributes little merit to this latter method.[29] According to Keller, psychoanalysis extends far beyond the domain of psychotherapy; its theories are also relevant to the humanities. In myth, in fairy tales, in ecstatic states, in artistic creation, and in certain forms of asceticism, psychoanalysis has identified certain processes of sublimation and is now seeking inroads into the area of education. Thus, the question is raised as to "whether psychoanalysis could be of

[25] Oskar Pfister: *Die Illusion einer Zukunft*, in Eckhart Nase/Joachim Scharfenberg: *Psychoanalyse und Religion*, Darmstatt: Walter de Gruyter 1977, p. 101. When Pfister's book *Das Christentum und die Angst* was published in 1944, Keller congratulated him: "You have written a tour de force from which I have learnt much and which illuminates a new side of the theological situation. Much seems to be strongly predicated on psychological notions, but it is time this was featured. . . ." Keller to Pfister, 20 XII., (no year cited, but 1944), (Oskar Pfister's estate 2.56, manuscript dept. ZB).

[26] Keller, *Psychoanalyse / Psychotherapie*, in: RGG (*Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart)*, 1st edition, Vol. 4, Mohr Tubingen 1913, Col. 1970–1973 and Col. 1985–1987. The RGG could be found in the reading room of every German-speaking university library. Also in 1913 Pfister published *Die psychoanalytische Methode. Eine erfahrungswissenschaftlich-systematische Darstellung*, Leipzig, Julius Klinckhardt, 1913. This was the first textbook of psychoanalysis, 512 pages long.

[27] *Imago, Zeitschrift zur Anwendung der Psychoanalyse auf die Geisteswissenschaften* (Ed. Sigmund Freud).

[28] Keller in RGG, Col. 1970.

[29] Keller in RGG, Col.. 1971.

value in pastoral care."[30] Keller answers this question in the affirmative and describes it as "useful groundwork," which should be combined with "the preaching of a higher love"; in this way an "incomparably valuable synthesis" could be achieved.[31] In the second article, Keller introduces psychological methods such as suggestion and hypnosis, as well as Freud's "cathartic methods." These latter he describes as a precursor to the process of psychoanalysis.

b. Mutual Interests: The Psychoanalytic Society (1913–1914)

Early in 1913 C. G. Jung founded the Psychoanalytic Society, as it was initially called, as a continuation of the former Zurich Regional Group of the IPA. Most members were psychiatrists. The chairman was the psychiatrist Alphonse Maeder.[32] The minute-takers were Otto Mensendieck and Toni Wolff, both non-psychiatrists, although they were analysts. All three were close confidantes of Jung, who naturally set the agenda himself. The first recorded meeting was led by Jung on behalf of Maeder;[33] Pfister and Binswanger were still present. As a rule, a member of the society gave a talk, followed by a discussion, and at first the work seemed to proceed in the normal way.

At the second meeting of the society on 31 January 1913, Dr. Maeder summarized the main points of Jung's theory of libido, since part II of Jung's *The Symbols of Transformation* had just been published. According to Maeder, at the center lies the notion of the psyche's continuity, extending beyond the individual to the universal. In the discussion following the paper, the question was evidently raised about what personality type Jung himself was as a researcher. Using William James's characterization, in response Jung described Sigmund Freud as "tough minded," Adler as more "tender minded," but left the question about his own personality type open.

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[30] Ibid., Col. 1972.

[31] Ibid., Col. 1973.

[32] Dr. Alphons Maeder (1882–1971), see below I, 3e), p. 84.

[33] Meeting of 17 January 1913, in Minutes of Psychoanalytic Association, p. 2 (Archive of the Psychological Club, Zurich). Minute-taker: the pedagogue Otto Mensendieck, born 1871 in Hamburg and awarded Dr. phil. in Giessen in 1900. On Toni Wolff see below I, 2c) and footnote 75, p. 31.

According to the minutes, Jung explained that

> it was not a matter of a break in his relationship with Freud but rather a process of ongoing development. Freud had drawn attention to the causal explanation of neuroses. In the past, everything had been interpreted teleologically. However, neuroses had to be explained in part causally and in part teleologically. The introverted type must be thought of more teleologically, the hysteric more causally. Now, however, there was a trend towards the teleological explanation once again. . . . Regression goes back to a stage where incest was not yet relevant, the warmth of the feeding mother was much more important. . . . For *clinical practice*, the new understanding of libido is very significant. For one no longer asks what caused the neurosis but instead reads the neurotic symptom as a regression to the past, because a block stands in the way, of which a man is not conscious, or about which he wants to stay unconscious. So he takes the infantile path, to get all kinds of compliments and trick his way around the obstacle in a child's winning way. Therefore, behind the neurosis stands the question: What obligation are you trying to duck? A duty you require of yourself. . . . That is why dreams must be read prospectively, as dream interpretation used to be undertaken [before Freud], in the direction of the task that is difficult for the neurotic who lacks the "standard of life."[34]

In response to what Jung had laid out, Keller posed three questions. First, he wanted to know: "What should be brought to the surface by psychoanalytic treatment . . . ?" Jung responded with the example of a "strongly delinquent youth" who through treatment had discovered as yet unconscious traits from his childhood. Second, Keller inquired about the "symbol of incest in mythology." Jung replied that dreams and mythology provided much material about incestuous desires, "but incest is only an expression, a *façon de parler*, and while it can escalate into experience, it remains a symbol all the same and, in fact, not of desire but of disinclination." Finally, Keller asked: "Should every dream be prospective?" In response, Jung replied: "The dream gives an answer via the symbol, which must be understood. One should not see in it nothing but a wish

[34] Jung, in Minutes of Psychoanalytic Association *(*from July 1914 Association for Analytical Psychology*)*, Meeting of 31 January 1913, p. 4 and 5f. Minute-taker: Mensendieck. Emphasis of *Praxis* by the minute-taker, but apparently stressed by Jung. The final phrase was spoken in English.

fulfillment, for then the analyst will merely go along with the neurotic's fantasies. The purposes of the unconscious, which never seeks to dissemble, must be revealed."[35]

Although Keller had some theological reservations about Jung's book on libido,[36] the minute-taker Dr. Mensendieck found that from a humanist-philosophical standpoint something was lacking in Jung's libido concept, in his "completely biological way of thinking," even if now he would withhold any criticism.[37] Ludwig Binswanger remarked that Jung's book was "not only a scholarly problem, but also a problem for the author. The work gives the impression of being a huge unfinished struggle with powerful material." On the other hand, he praised the rich mythological material of the book.[38] Keller played a prominent role in the society and belonged among the regular attendees. His frequent questioning was impressive, and he enjoyed the reputation of being a good debater, thanks to both his psychological grounding and his thorough philosophical and literary education.[39] For instance, during a debate on homosexuality, he cited Thomas Mann's *Death in Venice* as a literary example.[40]

Using dreams from analysands and literary figures such as Parsifal, Tristan and Isolde, Roland, and Faust, the members continued to discuss libido, and, linked to this, they considered education, religion, myth, neurosis, symbolism, kleptomania, introversion and extraversion—a distinction developed by Jung—as well as the nervous character, seeking to grasp these concepts more clearly. They also wrestled with the definitions and boundaries of psychic illnesses and suitable therapies. The minutes of the society in 1913 give the impression of vigorous interchange, about varied subjects and opinions, held amid an open culture of discussion. But it was Jung who generated the longest intervals of questioning and who dominated the cycle of debate.

After the separation from Freud, the Zurich Group, as they now called themselves, experienced a period of further development and reorientation, despite Jung's initial assertions to the contrary. Even personally, Jung was unsettled and searching. As already mentioned, when asked

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[35] Ibid., pp. 5f.

[36] See below I, 2c), p. 34.

[37] Minutes of 31 January 1913, p. 5.

[38] Binswanger in Minutes of 28 February 1913, p. 10.

[39] Cf. Keller, *Eine Philosophie des Lebens (Henri Bergson)*. Jena, Eugen Diederichs, 1914, cf. below I, 2b), p. 27.

[40] Keller in Minutes of 25 July 1913, p. 27.

what type of researcher he was, at first he could not respond.[41] Once he explained that his theory of dementia praecox (schizophrenia) was only a "working hypothesis," only to immediately insist that it could resolve "the difficulties in Freudian theory."[42] As far as libido and neurosis were concerned, Jung repeatedly emphasized that Freud represented a predominantly causal explanation, and that one also had to take their teleological significance into account.[43]

About a year later Jung claimed that, in contrast with Freud's view, dream images did not reiterate relationships between the dreamer and figures in the dream, but were rather an expression of the dreamer's disposition. The dream has a tendency to compensate, thus a teleological function, which should be favored in psychological consideration. As well as being morally stabilizing, the dream also has the function of depicting the psychic situation. At both meetings on 13 February and 13 March, Jung spoke on "The Symbolism of Dreams," where he clarified the thinking of previous meetings. In eight theses, he rejected Freudian dream theory and countered it with his own interpretation. In the manuscript from the lecture, the following statements can be found:

> Freud neglects the manifest dream content. . . . What is the actual meaning [*sic*]? It is a symbolically delineated solution to the problem. What is the problem? The future is dark and as a rule it is the result of our attitude. Our behavior is . . . crucial. . . . We have various possibilities; which is the best one? This is the problem. If the problem is conscious, then the dream conveys the subliminal material that has constellated through the conscious way of looking at the problem, and its symbolic attempt to solve it. If the problem is unconscious, then the dream conveys the unconscious analogy to it, along with the corresponding attempt at a solution. . . . By expressing the subliminal material constellated by the current situation, the dream has a compensatory function. Morally, just as we describe a compensatory observation in . . . life as an admonition, so too the function of the dream can be described as a warning. Inasmuch as the dream symbolically anticipates solutions, it has a directive, teleological function. . . . The content of the unc. [unconscious] cannot be seen as a given but is rather a function of the contents of consciousness. In effect the relationship is reciprocal. An *abaissement*

[41] Jung in Minutes of 28 February 1913, p. 11.
[42] Jung in Minutes of 2 May 1913, p. 4.
[43] Jung in Minutes of 28 February 1913, p.11.

> *du niveau mental* [lowering of the mental level] elevates the significance of the unc.[44]

It was inevitable that Keller would also inquire about Jung's interpretation of dreams. After Jung explained in the discussion that "dreams are not to be explained teleologically or causally, but rather conditionally," Keller wanted to know: "Why does wish fulfillment seek an object?" to which Jung replied: "The wish to regress consists precisely in the fact that the historical past is brought back to life."[45]

Not only the discussion about the meaning of the dream and the debates about Jung's book on libido, but, in fact, every discussion from 1913 and 1914, illustrates that much was in a state of flux in the Zurich Group. Analytical Psychology, or Complex Psychology as it was later called, was still embryonic. Keller proved indispensable in this process by constantly pushing Jung to be more precise about his views, and the minutes show that he was often the only member of the society to do this. Alongside questions on libido and the interpretation of dreams, he also posed several on introversion and extraversion, a major area of interest for Jung: "If the difference between the two types is so important, how does one distinguish them?" The question was "very complicated," replied Jung; "one could not answer it conclusively."[46]

However, he returned at great length to this question a few weeks later:

> The psychological phenomena are manifestations of an energy. We call this energy in psyche "libido," and it is roughly comparable with Schopenhauer's will, the platonic notion of Eros, and Bergson's *élan vital*. This libido, in which nothing sexual is implied, is only an

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[44] Jung in Minutes of 30 January 1914, p. 42f., and minutes of 13 February 1914, p.45f. and 13 March 1914, but which do not contain a summary of the two lectures. The quote is from Jung: "Lecture on the dream" (Part 1) of 13 February 1914, handwritten lecture manuscript (as yet unpublished), pp.1–6 and p. 36ff. (ETH, estate of C. G. Jung Hs 1055: 20). See also the almost analogous but incomplete typescript, "The Problem of the Dream," 4 pp. (ibid., Hs 1055: 584). Both versions are dated 12 February 1914 with reference to some examples on the difference between Freud's dream interpretation and his own. Thus, Freud interprets the anxiety dream as a wish fulfillment, but, he, Jung, regards it as a real danger. And Freud sees coitus in the climbing of the stairs, [wh]ile for Jung it concerns ascending to the heights in order to liberate oneself from the depths. In illustration Jung mentions the "moral test of Job"; on this see Jung's *Answer to Job* and II, letter 42. On the second lecture, see the minutes of the Association of 13 March 1914, p. 48f. and the lecture manuscript. (ETH Hs 1055: 20, p. 6. ff.) Cf., the discussion about Keller's dream, letters 24 and 26ff.

[45] Minutes of 13 March 1914, p. 48ff.

[46] Keller and Jung in Minutes of 24 October 1913, p. 30.

> imperceptible thought. . . . The concept of libido corresponds to the energetic point of view, about preservation and transformation of the energy resource. . . . Within psychic energy there are different states, we should consider the kinetic states first. The object is cathected and in this way a conditional influence on the subject arises. However, the cathecting energy emanates from the subject. In this way the external world acquires greater emotional value, which equates with extraversion. . . . On the other hand there is introversion, in which the subjective retains the upper hand. Extraversion and introversion can be contingent upon each other. . . . The cathexis of the external world is only temporary, e.g., the world system is underpinned by reality, but the end goal is introverted in nature. . . . In contingent introversion, the external is dominant, for the ultimate goal is extravert in nature. . . . The normal waking state is extravert in nature, but it is perhaps a contingent introversion in order to devote oneself to reality. The sleep state is completely introverted.[47]

Keller wanted to know "whether one could retreat into introversion for the purpose of moral development," to which Jung replied "for sure, by means of exercises and spiritual training."[48] Some months later Jung said: "Introversion and extraversion are fundamental movements, mechanisms, not types," only later to invoke types once again.[49]

Keller made substantial contributions to the discussion in his own right. On 13 and 20 March 1914, he spoke on *Bergson and the Theory of Libido*.[50] According to Keller, Bergson's philosophy reads "like a longing for a new liberation, an immersion in and enhancement of life itself." Bergson postulated: "Before all thought, there is life," and his basic principle was: "Return to life!"[51] In contrast with Descartes's "cogito, ergo sum" he asserted: "vivo, ergo sum."[52] Reason is inadequate when it is a

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[47] Jung in Minutes of 21 November 1913, p.35. Minute-taker: Dr. Mensendieck.

[48] Keller and Jung in Minutes of 26 June 1914, p.54.

[49] Jung in Minutes of 21 May 1915, p.66 and 29.? [*sic*] May 1916, p. 83 and 9 June 1917, p. 97f.

[50] Cf. Keller, *Eine Philosophie des Lebens (Henri Bergson),* 146 pp., or abridged, 46 pp., both Jena, Eugen Diederichs Verlag, 1914. The lecture manuscript is not extant, hence reference here to the abridged version. Bergson (1851–1941) invited Keller to Paris early in 1918 for his acceptance ceremony into the Académie Française.

[51] Keller, ibid., abridged version, p. 4.

[52] Ibid., p.8. Re Descartes, cf. above, I, 1a) p. 7. Vivo, ergo sum (Latin) = I live, therefore I am.

question of the life of the soul. The intellect has narrow limitations anyway.[53] On the other hand, it is intuition that creates awareness; Keller declares:

> Does not *Faust* give a deeper understanding of life than all text books on anthropology, psychology, and ethics put together? Is there not an inkling of a more immanent relationship with religious life in J. S. Bach's St. Matthew Passion, or in Michelangelo's Pietà, than in dogmatic concepts? Of course we must have these things, like psychology textbooks; but what these things give us are more the scraps of life. . . . But creative inspiration underlies both works of art and the great philosophical systems."[54] "The intellect leads to positive scholarship; intuition leads to metaphysics—and we might add: to art and religion. Both are necessary: both scholarship and metaphysics."[55] "Intuition conceives of the entire reality of the world as a ceaselessly creative becoming. . . . The *durée créatrice* is definitely the greatest discovery in Bergson's philosophy. . . . [56] For Bergson, life is something "spiritual, or let us say psychic. . . . Yes, the soul is in fact the "restlessness of life" that is always pressing onward in every rhythm of becoming. . . . What presses forward in this powerful surge of life is not the logical, rational, reason . . . but the irrational, dynamic, it is compulsion and will, *élan vital*.[57] [For Bergson] actual memory lies unconscious and untapped in the most varied layers of our consciousness.[58]

Then Keller makes a link with Jung:

> Thus, it is only there [in the soul] that that freedom which Bergson imputes to the human intellect can be found. For this reason, this is a great and singular matter; for it does not live on the surface of our life, which is encrusted in habits and automatisms and completely oriented towards our practical motor-sensory needs, but rather it reveals itself in those less grand, creative decisions and deeds that give

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[53] Ibid., p. 9f.

[54] Ibid., p. 16 f. Johann Wolfgang Goethe's *Faust, Part 1* (1808), and *Faust Part II* (completed 1832) is a poem of great spiritual breadth, which eludes terms such as rationalism or irrationalism.

[55] Ibid., p. 18.

[56] Ibid., p. 19. Jung mentions Bergson's *durée créatrice* in *Symbols of Transformation*, para. 425.

[57] Ibid., p. 24.

[58] Ibid., pp. 26f.

> our life a new direction, in those actions in which our deepest personality is embedded. . . . It [freedom] is a distant goal and a ceaseless fascination and challenge. . . . It can be reached by a deep contemplation and immersion in the creative nature of one's being, with persistence, and by fashioning one's actions out of those fertile depths as an artist fashions his work.[59]

He continues (spanning a number of pages): "Intellect corrodes religion, and where intellect alone engages with a religious phenomenon, it is bound to destroy it; for it cannot bear the unconditional and absolute; religion, however, is rooted in these."[60] The irrationalism advocated by Bergson "unites all endeavors that share a common enemy in rationalism and intellectualism: mysticism, the metaphysical individualism of Leibniz and Schleiermacher, Hamann and Jacobi's philosophy of feeling, as well as Kutter and Ragaz's longing for the immediate. . . ."[61] "It is an ancient dream of humanity to transcend the limitations of reason and to gaze directly inside the life of the world through intuition."[62] "To behold is the privilege of the individual, to comprehend is the means of understanding the universal. But what the individual, the artist, the prophet, the mystic, the metaphysicist beholds is of value for the universal."[63] Bergson's philosophy is a deep plea for soul and inwardness."[64]

Keller interwove Bergson's thoughts with his own commentary. He also draws parallels with Jung's way of thinking. In recognition, Jung commented: "Keller's paper has addressed an omission. Bergson should long since have been discussed here. B. says everything which we have not said. He has descended from unity, we have ascended out of the multiplicity."[65]

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[59] Ibid., p.26f.

[60] Ibid., p.31. Keller is conflating this with the roughly contemporary thinking of Emil Brunner, who later became professor of theology and a close friend; cf. Frank Jehle, *Emil Brunner,* Zurich, TVZ (Theologischer Verlag Zurich), 2006, p.62ff.

[61] Ibid., p.37. The theologians Hermann Kutter (1863–1931) and Leonhard Ragaz (1868–1945) founded the Swiss social-religious movement. Pfister and Keller were closely aligned with Ragaz, corresponded with him, and included "the social dimension of the gospel in their considerations" throughout their lives, but distanced themselves from the most radical of his theories. See Isabelle Noth, *Freuds bleibende Aktualität*, pp.67 and p.73.

[62] Ibid., p.39f.

[63] Ibid., p.42.

[64] Ibid., p.45.

[65] Jung in Minutes of the Psychoanalytic Association, 20 March 1914, p.51. Cf. Friedel Elisabeth Muser, *Zur Geschichte des Psychologischen Clubs Zurich von den Anfängen bis 1928*, Sonderdruck Psychologischer Club, Zurich, 1984, 12 pp., unnumbered.

c. Consensus and Dissent: The Association of Analytical Psychology (1914–1918)

Even before Keller's talks on Bergson on 7 November 1913, Jung had informed the members of the society that Freud was expressing doubts about his, Jung's, *bona fides*. "There was no longer any possibility of an understanding."[66] He stated that the society now had a cultural task that would spur it on.

A few weeks later Jung decided to subject himself to his unconscious, thereby allowing himself to become immersed in the depths of his psyche (a fact he did not make public), in order to gain greater insight. Alongside the "cultural crisis" shortly before the outbreak of the First World War, the extremely painful split from Freud was surely another catalyst for this decision.[67] In his internal world Jung observed things both wonderful and terrible; this self-experiment, described by him as scientific, but which could also be described as self-analysis, proved to be long and difficult, but yielded rich fruit.[68] It formed the basis of his life's subsequent work. The splendid *Red Book,* Jung's manuscript in mediaeval script with its expressive painted images offers an impressive testimony to this internal struggle. It is highly significant both in terms of its content and as a piece of art.[69] Jung named this process of self-discovery "individuation." In 1916, within the trusted circle of the society and based on his personal experiences, he defined individuation in this way:

> Becoming an individual: the allness is integrated, compressed into the singularity. Individuation is a process of the absolute condensation of the libido, which wants to become personal; through this arise tension, expectation, heat through the inward direction of the inclinations, which want to become personal. Out of this tension, the images are generated. Life proceeds through the images. One can see the value of the symbol only through the introverting process, as when we enter into the object, for then the object becomes alive and real and has no symbolic meaning. This we find only when we

[66] Jung in Minutes of 7 November 1913, p.31.

[67] Shamdasani, "Introduction" to *The Red Book,* pp. 194 and 197 Reader's Edition, pp.3 & 14.

[68] Shamdasani, ibid., pp. 207–208, Reader's Edition, pp. 47–49.

[69] In the summer of 2013, *The Red Book* was on display at the biennale in Venice, directly under the cupola of the central octagon of the exhibition. See Petra Kipphoff, *Der kaleidoskopische Palast*, *NZZ*, 27 July 2013, p. 53.

abstract. Then the libido brings the imaginal into me and I hold the world as imago within myself.[70]

At the meeting of the Zurich group on July 10 1914, it was considered whether they should still belong to the International Psychoanalytic Congress. Keller voted to remain, albeit with the intention of energetically bringing the Jungian view into the Congress. Others disagreed; they felt that Keller underestimated Freud's power. Jung redoubled his efforts: "Freud does not wish there to be any research freedom." He also claimed that in Freud's manifesto "the authority of the teachings of one individual had been stipulated in an unmistakable way."[71] In a secret ballot from which Pfister and Binswanger were apparently absent, only Keller was against the exit, while fifteen voted in favor and one abstained.[72] It was agreed that they would rename The Psychoanalytic Society as The Association for Analytical Psychology to differentiate it from Freud's "psychoanalysis." With this, the split was finally accomplished.

Oskar Pfister and Ludwig Binswanger now absented themselves from the Association. A year earlier Jung and Pfister had already engaged in friendly debate: "In a discussion between Rev. Pfister and Dr. Jung the former emphasizes the neurotic character of Christ and St. Paul while Jung disputed the neurosis in both cases. He claimed that Christ (leaving aside the question of whether he existed, which is a question of textual criticism) was fully adapted to the spirit of his age."[73]

From then on, only Jungian analysts belonged to the Association for Analytical Psychology—the majority of them psychiatrists—among them Alphons Maeder and Franz Riklin. Otto Mensendiesck was a philologist and pedagogue. Keller was now the only remaining theologian.[74] Toni Wolff[75]

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[70] Minutes of Association of Analytical Psychology (as it was called from 10 July 1914 on), 14 June 1916, p. 92.

[71] Thus Muser in *Zur Geschichte des Psychologischen Clubs,* no pagination.

[72] Minutes of 10 July 1914, pp. 55f.

[73] Minutes of 30 May 1913. Emphasis in original. It is barely disputed in the research that the historical Jesus existed.

[74] The doctor and theologian Walter Gut, later professor of theology at the University of Zurich, appears in 1911 in the list of the Zurich Regional group of the IPA, but is never mentioned in the minutes of the Association of Analytical Psychology; however, he remained in casual contact with Jung. Cf. Annatina Wieser, *Zur frühen Psychoanalyse*, p. 97.

[75] Toni Wolff (1888–1953), the gifted daughter of a wealthy Zurich family who was treated by Jung for her depression and introduced to analytical psychology. Later she herself ran a very successful analytic practice.

and "Sister" Moltzer[76] were accepted as "extraordinary" members. They were among the earliest analysands of Jung and also worked as analysts and were colleagues of Jung.[77] Emma Jung too was also seen at the Association more frequently. The lively discussions at the meetings continued, but there were fewer disagreements with Jung's theses than before. Keller certainly continued to attend, bringing ever new questions and objections, but also with strongly persistent interest and fundamental agreement. The fissures that opened between him and Jung initially had more to do with their differing attitudes toward the First World War, as became evident during the discussion of a talk by Jung.

In 1916, in the middle of the war, Jung presented a new paper, "On the Dream."[78] Keller opened the discussion with a vigorous talking point: "The goal of analysis is, as Jung says, the wholeness of the personality. From a moral perspective, the goal is often the opposite, often [in individuation] one part must be sacrificed for something else. It emerges from the lecture that the moral perspective comes from the unconscious. Analysis brings forth only what is morally evil. How can the claims of morality be reconciled with this? The evil must emerge, otherwise it cannot be struggled against (crucifixion, war). Does the sacrificial requirement help in the conflict between the psychological and the moral view?" Jung countered: "This is an important basic problem. It also concerns collectivity versus *principium individuationis*." Keller forged ahead: "Individuation is a moral requirement because consciousness is granted only with individuation. Morality inheres in consciousness." Jung replied:

> Today collectivity and individuation are antithetical. There are two sides, one where the moral accent is on the collective, the other where it is on the individual basis. . . . The individual is also of the collective. Nothing must be split off. . . . Differentiation pushed too far is sickness (diminished adaptation) with respect to the conditions. Today we have no culture—the spiritual height of development contrasts with the actuality of the collective. Culture first of all draws upon and reworks collective residues. . . . The concept of sacrifice no

[76] The Dutch nurse Maria Moltzer (1874–1944) came to Zurich in 1910 to study with Jung. In 1913 she opened an analytic practice and later returned to Holland. Cf. letter 68.

[77] Toni Wolff was also personally very close to Jung. As Jung's successor, she was later the analyst of Keller's wife, Tina Keller-Jenny. See below I, 2i), p. 58.

[78] See minutes of 11 February 1916. The minutes provide no summary of the presumably unpublished talk by Jung. He would have further developed his thinking in both "Dream Symbolism" lectures of 13 February 1914 and 13 March 1914. See above I, 2b, p. 26 and footnote 44, p. 22.

> longer applies. It comes from the time when one believed one could beat it [the real collective] to death or skin it alive.

Keller now asked: "Where does the will come in?" Jung: "We perpetrate abuses with the will, natural growth is subjected to the will. [That] should be reversed. . . . The will is an intellectual function. . . . The war teaches us: to will is pointless—we have got to see how it all turns out. We are completely subjugated to the absolute power of becoming." A good year later Jung posed the question in the Society: "Why is the whole world so set against Germany?"[79]

It goes without saying that Jung was in favor of culture and against the war. However, he believed that nothing could be done to prevent the war since it was an eruption of the collective unconscious. Keller, in contrast, had strongly condemned the war from the very start; he considered it to be planned and executed by man. Jesus, however, represented love, justice, goodness, mercy, and peace. One ought to repress one's affect and subordinate it to consciousness while subjugating the will to an idea.[80] He repeatedly campaigned for aid to the victims of war and promoted solidarity with ravaged postwar Europe, including Germany, which had been boycotted by the victorious powers.[81]

Another completely different issue, affecting every analyst, was under consideration. As early as the start of 1913, members of the Association had been asked to report cases damaged by psychoanalytic treatment to an external non-member.[82] According to the minutes this delicate issue was seldom if ever discussed. Four years after the enquiry, on May 12, 1917, Adolf Keller posed the question: "Who is suitable for analysis?"[83] At this time, his wife Tina Keller-Jenny was in analysis with Jung.[84] In 1916 Jung had already pre-empted the answer to this question in the Psychological Club that Tina often attended: "Individuation was for the few.

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[79] Keller and Jung in Minutes of 11 February 1916, p. 76 and 9 June 1917, pp. 97ff.

[80] Keller at St. Peter's, in Johannes Sutz/Adolf Keller, *Gotteshilfe in Kriegszeit. Sechs Predigten*, Zurich, Orell Füssli, 1914, 24, 26ff., and Adolf Keller, "Die psychologische Seiten der Neutralität," in *Wir Schweizer, unsere Neutralität und der Krieg. Eine nationale Kundgebung.* Zurich: Rascher, 1915, 102ff.

[81] Jung and Keller on National Socialist Germany; see below I, 3c, p. 72.

[82] Letter from Alfred Hoche (1865–1943), psychiatrist and neurologist, leader of the psychiatric clinic in Freiburg im Breisgau, and an opponent of Freud. He was co-author of the text *Die Freigabe der Vernichtung lebensunwerten Lebens* in 1920, but was not against the will of those affected. Married to a Jew, he later criticized the National Socialists' euthanasia program. Minutes of 28 February 1913.

[83] Keller in minutes of 12 May 1917, p. 96.

[84] On Tina Keller's analysis with Jung, see below I, 2i, p. 56.

Those who were insufficiently creative should rather reestablish collective conformity with a society."[85]

In the Association, religion and God were recurring themes that were close to Keller's and Jung's hearts. From the beginning, Keller had left no doubt that he was first and foremost a theologian. Thus we return to Jung's book *Symbols of Transformation*, in which religious questions play a prominent role. Keller engaged deeply with this book. In the discussion about it early in 1913 he expressed the wish "that there were a better understanding in the Association of the theologian's difficulty in establishing a connection between theology and psychoanalysis. For, although religion in its dogmatic form can be psychologically explained, this expresses nothing of its metaphysical or ethical value. The reality of Christianity's capacity to shape history must be seen more clearly. This does not happen when Christianity is regarded as equivalent to Mithraic religion, for example."[86] Jung defended himself: It had not been his intention to explain the origins of Christianity in *Symbols of Transformation*, but he believed that he had diminished the difficulties between theology and psychoanalysis.[87]

As a glimpse inside the book shows, Jung attributes to Christianity "wisdom for life," but accuses it of a "flight from the world" and an "unfortunate amalgamation of religion and morality." And, while "one constantly speaks of the believer who goes through life steadfastly certain and content, never doubting his faith in God, I have never seen such a man."[88] Jung compared Babylonian, Germanic, Aztec, Egyptian, Zoroastrian, Hindu, Buddhist, Ancient Greek, as well as Old and New Testament representations, with regard to the dying and resurrecting God, Helios or Sol and the divine light, the tree of death or cross and the tree of life. Thus Osiris, Mithras, Gilgamesh, Heracles, and Christ are shown to stand on an equal footing.[89] According to Keller, while such comparisons enrich the psychological understanding of man, they cannot diminish the difficulties between theology and psychoanalysis.

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[85] Shamdasani, "Introduction" to the *Red Book*, 208. The Psychological Club met in 1916 alongside the Association for Analytical Psychology. On the Club, see below I, 2g).

[86] Minutes of the Association, 14 February 1913, pp. 8ff.

[87] Jung in minutes of the Association, ibid, p. 9.

[88] Jung, *The Psychology of the Unconcious* 1925 paras. 259–261.Keller did not deny doubt among Christians. See his paper *Pragmatische und religiöse Denkweise*, below I, 2f, p. 45.

[89] Jung, *The Psychology of the Unconcious*.

In Jung's book a reinterpretation of the Judaeo-Christian understanding of God is heralded, thus he writes: "Men wish only to love their own ideas of God, namely what they project of their own imagination onto God. In this way they seek to love their own unconscious, namely those vestiges of ancient humanity, common to everyone. . . ."[90] At a meeting of the Association at the end of May in 1913, Jung stated that in the Old Testament "there was the primitive form of salvation, and an identification with oneself is not yet achieved. This is still the case in the Catholic Church. In contrast, Protestantism has progressed beyond this."[91]

Members who were friends of Flournoy sometimes gathered separately; in a letter to Maeder, Jung writes of "Flournoy meetings" and complained in passing that Keller had not prepared adequately for one of these meetings.[92] Be that as it may, Keller was well-versed in Flournoy's writings: between the end of 1915 and early 1916 he gave three lectures on Flournoy's *Une mystique moderne*,[93] which stimulated long discussions. Jung was present on every occasion; E. Claparède,[94] who along with Flournoy was the most significant psychologist from French-speaking Switzerland, attended as a visitor for the second time.[95] In Flournoy's publication a female patient is presented who considered herself a Christian. Toni Wolff referred to her in the discussion, saying "her personal concept of God shows that she is an extravert."[96] And also: "In analysis one reaches God through love and will, not only by being overwhelmed, as K. [Keller] believes." Jung added: "In analysis it is more that we are prepared for it. Otherwise one can be overwhelmed."[97] After a lecture by Emma Jung some months later, Keller pointed out that inner reality had already been discovered not for the first time in analysis but "in the mythological symbolism in religion," which C. G. Jung promptly mitigated with: "Analytical psychology was the first to reveal this consciously

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[90] Jung, ibid., p.172 [no paragraph nos. were cited in early editions] in the German edition of *Wandlungen und Symbole der Libido*, 1912 / unrevised edition of 1925.

[91] Minutes of 30 May 1913.

[92] Annatina Wieser, *Zur frühen Psychoanalyse,* p. 124.

[93] Keller on Flournoy's *Une mystique moderne*, minutes of 19 November , 3 December 1915 and 27 January 1916, pp. 70ff. The three talks are missing.

[94] Edouard Claparède (1873–1948), student of Flournoy and his successor at the University of Geneva.

[95] Claparède wished to have copies of the talks and discussions for the journal *Archives de psychologie.*

[96] Toni Wolff in minutes of 3 December 1915, p. 71.

[97] Toni Wolff in minutes of 27 January 1916, p. 74. Here "extravert" indicates that the patient sought God outside of herself. One is thus "overwhelmed" by the transcendent God.

as a psychological reality—in mythology and in religion it was as if they were external to us."[98]

Early in 1918, Jung said of the unconscious: "Through consciousness one purifies oneself and is liberated from the constraints of the unconscious = the ascent of the mountain of salvation = union with his soul = the liberated individual can integrate his being (his soul). . . . When the union with the soul occurs man is also united with the cosmos reflected in the unconscious. In this way he becomes godlike, and not clearly defined. What is individual is felt, but man is undifferentiated from the world, in mystical participation with it. . . . For the first part of an analysis the psychology of the Christian worldview should be used. Later we come up against the problem of the one-sided definition of the concept of God."[99] Keller, evidently not present, would certainly have disagreed with Jung's pantheistic vision.[100] In any case, he raised the question six months later as to "whether current theological forms are adequate for the actuality of Christianity."[101] The tension between the conservative and the liberal trends in theology remained, and Keller continued to consider himself a mediator. In the meantime the religious socialist trend initiated by Leonhard Ragaz had emerged; this was a development he relished.

d. An Important Letter by Jung on Therapy

The oldest extant letter from Jung to Keller is dated 5 November 1915. It is also the earliest letter in the entire correspondence and is reproduced as letter no. 1 in Part II. This letter deals with something absolutely fundamental: the psychological process. Just as we can catch Jung's perspective on the development of analytical psychology in the minutes of the Association, in this letter we witness the evolution of therapy. His struggle with this crucial issue can be keenly sensed. On the other hand it becomes clear that points of consensus as well as differences were emerging between Jung and Keller regarding analysis and what would follow.[102]

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[98] Keller and Jung in minutes of 17 June 1916, p. 87.

[99] Jung in minutes of the Association, 2 February 1918, p. 108ff.

[100] See Keller's talk on "The Gospel and Christianity," I, 2g) and the remarks on Karl Barth in chapter I, 3b) and I, 3e).

[101] Minutes of 5 July 1918.

[102] Letter 1: Jung to Keller, 5 November 1915, handwritten (in special collections of Winterthur Libraries CHW, Ms Sch 153.9). The oldest surviving letter by Keller to Jung originates in 1936.

Jung's letter is a reaction to Keller's—non-extant—Day of Repentance sermon from September of the same year. Jung juxtaposes the three stages of "introversion, libido, hatching" with the three sections in the sermon: "self-awareness and self-absorption—renewal of the mind—becoming a brotherhood of man." Apparently, in the first part Keller had spoken of soul-searching in Jung's sense; in part two, of repentance as a consequence of retreat, or of the agency of divine grace; and in part three, under the heading of "becoming a brotherhood of man," of being oriented towards others. Here, in the middle of the war, he called tirelessly for social responsibility and neutrality just as he was wont to do.[103]

Jung on the other hand—provisionally—endorsed only introversion, that is, man's separation of himself from society. The individual must first and foremost find himself. He considers Keller's two steps following introversion as being not yet achievable since people, especially extraverts, do not adequately face up to their shadow, and are therefore not prepared for further steps. The process must be "lived," and that takes time. Thus, he sees the task of the church to be only the preaching of step 1. He is aware that in this he is contradicting the Christian commandment to love one another, but mentions in support of this argument that there were hermits in early Christianity who devoted themselves exclusively to solitude in the desert. Keller seemed to him to be progressing forward too forcefully. However, he agreed that the step towards responsible participation in society was ultimately his objective.

Keller's 1918 Day of Repentance sermon on Psalm 139: 7–10 in St. Peter's is extant.[104] In no way does he follow Jung's advice from 1915, but rather he reverses the order of the two first steps and begins with God, whose transcendence he emphasizes, and stresses the "we," the community, and not individuation, or the retreat from the "ego."

e. Keller as Pastoral Psychologist

St. Peter's church was well attended on Sundays. Keller was a good rhetorician and a well-loved preacher. However, some people were irritated by the psychological "sprinklings" in the sermons and stayed away. Through his engagement with analytical psychology, Keller became

[103] Cf. Keller, "Die psychologische und ethische Seite der Neutralität," in *Wir Schweizer, unsere Neutralität und der Krieg. Eine nationale Kundgebung*. Zurich: Rascher, 1915, pp. 101–115. Cf. above I, 2c).

[104] *Mancherlei Gaben. Bettagspredigten 1918* (missing authors), Zurich. Orell Füssli, 1918, pp. 38–47.

strongly sensitized to people's hidden needs and longings. As a pastor he understood how to link together Christian teaching and psychological knowledge of humanity. One example of this stems from 1917. One of the members of the church, Charlotte von Muralt, died relatively young after a serious illness. At the funeral Keller said that she had led a life behind the scenes, limited to family and friends. "What someone holds inside remains as a hidden disposition, as an original dowry deep within us."[105] "We all know how hard it is to keep a perfect balance between one's inner life and its expression. . . . Charlotte von Muralt must surely have genuinely experienced this restriction of her being and her world. . . . This awareness often lay upon her like a gentle resignation. But this was not able to dampen her impulse towards growth and expansion and accomplishment. She kept forging ahead, perhaps precisely because she was stripped of everything insubstantial in a very difficult and lengthy school of suffering."[106] Charlotte von Muralt has achieved her original being, "which comes from God and seeks to return to God."[107] Keller saw a *Christian*-shaped individuation in her development.

He detected an increase in psychic problems following the spiritual upheavals before and during the First World War. Very quietly, time-honored Christian bonds of the soul had disintegrated. He was convinced that "the pastor can no longer cope with this level of need and the confusion of feelings arising from it with the existing methods of pastoral care."[108] In his work he encountered a large number of such people. He was also a prison chaplain, and he often detected serious psychic problems especially among prisoners.[109] He writes: "I have sat alongside some young prisoners in their cells and have listened to their tales of woe—a dark concatenation of evil forces, a mixture of greed, doubt, selfishness, and carnality."[110] He wished—and this he learned from Jung—first and foremost to listen, to understand, not to judge.[111] It is interesting that Keller, who was remarkably attuned to social needs, became one of the first professional advocates of prisoners on their release. He maintained that they needed

[105] Keller, *Worte der Erinnerung an Charlotte von Muralt (1867–1917)*. Zurich, Selbstverlag, 1917, p. 3.

[106] Ibid., p. 6ff.

[107] Ibid., p. 7.

[108] Keller, *Von Geist und Liebe*, Gotha/Zurich, Leopold Klotz/Wanderer, 1934, pp. 42ff.

[109] Keller, ibid., p. 45.

[110] Keller, "Vom religiösen Jugendunterricht," in newsletter of St. Peter's church, No. 4, 18. April 1922, p. 2.

[111] This was also important to Oskar Pfister, cf. Isabelle Noth, *Freuds bleibende Aktualität*, p. 86.

work and "a certain degree of trust," or else a new start would be impossible.[112]

Keller wrote: "I undertook a great number of my own analyses, partly with very good success, and I heard and analyzed thousands of dreams. When the conflicts lay at the surface and could be addressed as a simple neurosis, success is relatively easy to achieve. It is more difficult not only to recognize the introversion neuroses, but also to treat them, and repeatedly the dismantling of the transference posed a great difficulty. . . ."[113] In a discussion of the polarities of sadomasochism in The Association for Analytical Psychology, Keller reported on one of his female analysands who "converted strong murderous desires towards her mother into fierce embraces. She was . . . relieved to some degree that this happened, but was full of self-reproaches. Perhaps something similar can be seen in some cases of self-harm."[114] After the death of her husband, Keller's wife wrote that he had been "very successful with psychoanalysis."[115] She reports that one of his former female confirmation candidates who was studying the violin could suddenly no longer move one of her hands. When the doctors could not help her, she sought advice from Keller and was healed: "It seemed miraculous that it was possible to restore movement to a paralyzed hand through dream interpretation."[116]

Keller wrote to the theologian Leonhard Ragaz, who was skeptical of psychology, that he was "using analysis to plow, that is, for the release of old damaging automatisms, for the treatment of *anthropos sarkikos* and *psychikos*,[117] the man who has become a slave to the material and to psychic atavism."[118] He saw analysis as a method, not as an end in itself; he used it in the service of Christian pastoral care. After "plowing" comes "sowing," that is, pointing people to the mercy of God and the grace of Jesus Christ. Oskar Pfister, too, spoke of "plowing" and "sowing" to

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[112] Keller, "Schutzaufsicht für entlassene Gefangene," in newsletter of St. Peter's church, No. 5, 18 November 1915, p. 18f.

[113] Keller, *Aus meinem Leben*, p. 61f.

[114] Keller in minutes of 14 February 1913, p. 7.

[115] Tina Keller-Jenny, *Autobiography*, typescript 1981, p. 85 (private archive of P. Keller). Large parts of it are published in *The Memoir of Tina Keller-Jenny. A Lifelong Confrontation with the Psychology of C. G. Jung* (ed. Wendy K. Swan), Spring Journal Books, New Orleans, 2011. The writer quotes directly from the typescript of the *Autobiography* (copy, 2006 (*Autobiography 1981*).

[116] Tina Keller, *In Memoriam*, Manuscript 1972 (private archive of P. Keller).

[117] *Anthrōpos sarkikos* and *psychikos* (Greek) = carnal and psychic man (in contrast to intellectual man).

[118] Keller to Ragaz, 7 April 1918 (Zurich cantonal archive, WI 67 103.2).

describe the relationship between analytic and pastoral work.[119] It is not clear who first employed these two concepts; to some extent they would be familiar to those familiar with New Testament metaphors. Analytic pastoral care—or pastoral psychology—alienated, as mentioned, several church members.[120] Professor Hans Maier,[121] Bleuler's successor at the Burghölzli, gruffly opposed the treatment of mentally ill people by those without medical training.[122] Jung had none of these reservations.[123] On the contrary, he made a case for an affiliation of doctors of the soul and pastors of the soul: "For this reason I consider the psychological interest of Protestant clergy as something thoroughly legitimate and even essential. . . . Every insightful psychotherapist will only welcome it if his efforts are supported by the activity of the pastor."[124]

The proof that he was in earnest about this was provided by Jung himself. He sent his patient Mrs. Edith Rockefeller McCormick to Keller. She was the daughter of John D. Rockefeller, Sr., and the wife of Harold McCormick, chief of the Harvester Company in Chicago.[125] She lived in Zurich from 1913 until 1921. After the death of her son, she was taken ill with a neurosis and sought help from Jung and was analyzed by him for eight years. The progress of healing was limited. To Keller, the American woman seemed ossified. He writes: "One day the daughter of Rockefeller stood in the Lavater room and said: 'I would like to see human beings.'"[126] "For an entire year she accompanied me on my visits to the small alleys in the Schipfe (a then-poor quarter in the parish of St. Peter's) where I dragged her by the hand up putrid staircases and passageways so that she

[119] Isabelle Noth, *Freuds bleibende Aktualität,* pp. 86ff., 89, 94, and 101. Pfister wrote in 1928: "the freedom achieved through psychoanalysis has a relationship to actual pastoral work as plowing does to sowing." Quoted according to Jochheim, *Seelsorge und Psychotherapie*, p. 21. Cf. Isabelle Noth, *Sigmund Freud–Oskar Pfister. Correspondence 1909–1939*, Zurich: Theological Press, 2014, p. 27.

[120] Adolf Keller, *Aus meinem Leben*, pp. 2 and 57.

[121] Hans Maier (1882–1945). Between 1927 and 1941, professor of psychiatry at the University of Zurich and head of the Burghölzli.

[122] Maier to Keller, 16 October 18 and 25 October p. 18 (under C1, private archive P. Keller).

[123] Tina Keller: "He [Jung] promoted lay analysis" in *Wege inneren Wachstums. Aus meinen Erinnerungen an C. G. Jung,* Separatdruck from *Wendepunkt* Nos. 5–7. Erlenbach/Bad Homburg: Bircher-Benner 1972, p. 16. This is the memorial address (completed) given by Tina Keller in 1971 on the tenth anniversary of C. G. Jung's death.

[124] Jung, *Psychoanalysis and the Cure of Souls* (1928/29), in C. G. Jung, CW 11, para. 548. Cf., Jung, *Psychotherapists or the Clergy*, Zurich/Leipzig: Rascher, 1932, paras. 488–538.

[125] Edith McCormick-Rockefeller (1882–1932); Harold McCormick (1872–1941).

[126] Keller, *Von Geist und Liebe,* p. 44. On the Lavater room see above I, 2a).

was forced to take out her smelling salts on reaching the top; thus she became acquainted with the lives 'of other people' and with the phenomenology of poverty."[127] In this way, Keller hoped to facilitate her emergence out of her ivory tower, albeit with limited success.[128] Edith Rockefeller was in the audience for his lecture the "Gospel and Christianity," which he gave at the end of 1918 in the Psychological Club, which had run alongside the Association for Analytical Psychology since 1916; she requested a copy of his manuscript. She repeatedly sent him money for one of his needy protégées.[129] Harold McCormick and the daughters Muriel and Mathilde often came on visits to Switzerland. While Edith Rockefeller was away on pastoral visits with Keller and Harold McCormick was being analyzed by Jung, the daughters blithely had free run of the vicarage at 6 Peterhofstatt and explored every inch of the place.[130] The relationship with Edith Rockefeller opened the door later for Keller to meet her brother, John D. Rockefeller Jr., from whom he received large sums of money for his theological education project for the support of poor East European churches.[131]

f. Keller's Propaganda for Analytical Psychology and Pragmatism

In 1917 Keller wrote a detailed review of Jung's book *The Psychology of the Unconscious,* seeking to clarify for ministers, doctors, educators, and lawyers the possibilities for their disciplines in the theories developed by Jung.[132] He reported that Jung considered neurosis to be a conflict between two tendencies, one of which has been repressed into the unconscious.

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[127] Keller, *Adolf Keller. Ecumenist, World Citizen, Philanthropist*, pp. 25–26. The Schipfe was then a poor area of Zurich.

[128] Sadly, neither Jung nor Keller was able to offer her any lasting help. Tina Keller wrote: "I am not at all convinced of the success of her treatment with Dr. Jung." "Tina Keller's notebook" (private archive of P. Keller).

[129] Edith McCormick to Keller, 6 December 1918 and 13 January 1919 (dossier of letters to Adolf Keller 1918/1919, estate of Keller C, private archive P. Keller). On the talk from 1918, see below I, 2h), p. 51.

[130] Keller, *Aus Meinem Leb*en, p. 60.

[131] See M. Jehle-Wildberger, *Adolf Keller: Ecumenist, World Citizen, Philanthropist*, op. cit., pp. 25–26. Rockefeller supported Keller's ecumenical aid work and in 1946 purchased Castle Bossey on Lake Geneva, which served ecumenism. Ibid., p. 236. See below I, 3a), p. 67.

[132] Jung, *The Psychology of the Unconscious*, New York, 1916. (Translated by B. Hinkle) Keller, "Zur Psychologie der unbewussten Prozesse," in *Kirchenblatt für die reformierte Schweiz*, Nos. 38 and 39, 22, and 29 September 1917, pp. 149–151 and pp. 155–157.

What was required was the confrontation of the adapted function with the auxiliary function which resides for the most part in the unconscious, for instance between individualized, clear thinking and the undeveloped feeling that has remained stuck in the unconscious—or its reverse. A neurosis can be resolved by a life task, such as by getting married. Jung is striving for a synthesis of the two points of view by making the incompatible contents of the unconscious conscious through the analysis. Moreover, the unconscious can be divided into a personal and an impersonal—or collective—one. This latter is symbolically represented in primitive images: in dragons, treasures, heroes, and gods.

Keller conceded that Jung rarely discussed the question of the boundary between theology and psychology.[133] However, for Jung, the religious problem is a "constituent part" of the unconscious, collective being of man, just as the theologian and religious scholar Rudolf Otto also portrays it in his book *The Idea of the Holy.*[134] In other words, by exploring the unconscious, an analysis inevitably encounters the God-problem. There is a danger of identification of the ego with the absolute unconscious, which Jung claims can lead to megalomania or even to religious fanaticism, as the example of Nietzsche shows. This danger must be confronted by extricating the ego from the clutches of the collective unconscious and rendering it autonomous.

Keller could only underline this, but raised an objection to Jung that the work is only half accomplished through individuation. Man must not forget his social destiny: "The goal is achieved only when free personalities create community with their innermost being, which after all is a universal thing, and take the challenges of the community to heart; society is not yet community." In this remark Keller was referring to the famous book by the sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies on *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*.[135] In fact he was overlooking the fact that Jung also believed that man "*must fulfill his duty towards life completely, so that he may in every respect be a vitally living member of society*." But first "man must necessarily stand *upon firm feet* in his I-function."[136] It must be remembered

[133] Keller, "Zur Psychologie der unbewussten Prozesse," ibid., p. 155.

[134] Rudolf Otto, *The Idea of the Holy*, trans. J.W. Harvey. New York: Oxford U. P., 1923; 2nd ed., 1950.

[135] Ferdinand Tönnies, *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft: Grundbegriffe der reinen Soziologie*, 2nd ed. Berlin: Curtius, 1912 (1st ed. Leipzig: Fues, 1887).

[136] Jung, "*The Psychology of the Unconscious*" in *Collected Papers on Analytical Psychology*, ed. Constance Long; London: Baillière, Tindall & Cox, 1917, 2nd ed., pp. 416–417; cf. Jung, *The Psychology of the Unconscious*, 2nd ed. 1918. Also quoted in

that at that time Keller was very close to Leonhard Ragaz who argued most decisively for Christian social responsibility.[137]

Keller emphasized the significance of analytical psychology for theologians and ministers: "the scorn for the irrational avenges itself like that of reason and knowledge."[138] The assimilative powers of Christianity have proved themselves repeatedly through the course of history: "One only need think of Greek thought, the natural justice of Stoicism, ancient art forms, pagan cultic symbols, Roman forms of organization, mysticism, the Copernican worldview, evolutionary theory, historical criticism, socialism—originally completely unchristian things which Christianity incorporated and re-worked."[139] "However, continued Keller, theology will not give up its resistance to a purely energetic conception of psychological processes as Jung attempts to do. On the other hand it does not hurt to infer images, symbols, and analogies from energetics, which are useful for the understanding of certain facets of psychic life. . . . We get closer to the heart of the matter when we ask: How does psychology behave towards ethics and religion? Whoever truly possesses ethics and religion knows for sure that a psychology can create or justify neither the one nor the other. . . . But since analytical psychology is not only a theory but a therapeutic and educational method, it will have to engage practically with the ethical and religious problems of the individual."[140] Without psychology the pastor often reaches his limits. However, he must be aware that analytical work can initially have a resolving effect in cases where it is a matter merely of a traditional ethical framework and religion which is not internally appropriated: "This can make one ill and implies an inhibition of individual development that must first be resolved. The driving ethical force behind this resolution is truthfulness. The truth will set you free. Even Christianity, even the Reformation was only achieved through the critique of and resolution of an ethic or religion that could no longer be the truthful domain of the soul. Then there was room for something new."[141]

Keller saw the new in the "victory of the word," of the Word of God made flesh. In the deepest heart of man were the vessels "into which alone

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Shamdasani, "Introduction" to *The Red Book,* p. 209. Cf. Jung's letter to Keller of 1915, I, 2d) above, p. 36.

[137] On Ragaz see above I, 1a), p. 5 and p. 39, footnote 118.

[138] Keller, "Zur Psychologie der unbewussten Prozesse," in *Kirchenblatt*, p. 155.

[139] Ibid., p. 155.

[140] Ibid., p. 156.

[141] Ibid., p. 156.

the highest transcendent good can pour itself. Thus the unconscious shows that the God of man is only experienced in the form of surrender, of utter dependence, as Schleiermacher would say. Before he can be recognized as the ethical he must first of all be experienced as the inconceivably more powerful one who shatters humanity. Thus Job. . . ."[142] Job! In 1912 Jung had written in *The Psychology of the Unconscious*: "In Job, the erotic is missing and at the same time he is not conscious of the conflict in his own soul. . . ."[143]

Keller ended the review of Jung's *The Psychology of the Unconscious* with the words: "The connections described here with the highest, now historic religious values cannot be achieved by analytical psychology. But it is our task, working from our historical storehouse—just as in the case of the ancient shattered *tesserae*[144]—to find the religious counterpart."[145] Keller shows himself to be a critical reviewer. Indeed his own experience informed him very well about the use of analytical psychology in pastoral care. All the same, he expected salvation from the transcendent God. Although Jung also used the term "transcendence," he understood this differently from Keller, not as something in a narrow metaphysical sense, but rather he used the term in connection with the journey towards oneself, into the "depths," into the collective unconscious.[146]

For many years Keller had no real successors in "pastoral psychology," as it is called today. In 1927 Oskar Pfister published a book on analytical pastoral care with an intention similar to Keller's.[147] Here too any reverberation was a long time coming. Only after the Second World War did the topic gain wider currency.[148] This is all the more astonishing as Jung repeatedly spoke out about psychotherapy and pastoral care, as, for example, in 1932 in a lecture to Alsatian ministers.[149] Neurosis is a sickness

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[142] Ibid., p. 157. On Schleiermacher, see letter 59.

[143] Jung, *The Psychology of the Unconscious*, p.68, (para. 86 in 1956 edition), see below II, "On the Letters," p. 91, and letters 42 and 56ff.

[144] *Tesserae* (Latin) = small mosaic tiles.

[145] Keller, "Zur Psychologie der unbewussten Prozesse," p. 157.

[146] The Zurich theology professor Walter Bernet, who was influenced by Jung, says in *Gebet*, Stuttgart/Berlin, Kreuz-Verlag 1970, p. 31, "Collective consciousness is in fact transcendent to consciousness. . . . Transcendence in relation to the collective unconscious means nothing other than that this unconscious is not accessible to consciousness."

[147] Oskar Pfister, *Analytische Seelsorge. Einführung in die praktische Psychoanalyse für Pfarrer und Laien.* Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1927. Cf. see I, 1a)

[148] Martin Jochheim, *Seelsorge und Psychotherapie. Historisch-systematische Studien zur Lehre von der Seelsorge bei Oskar Pfister, Eduard Thurneysen und Walter Uhsadel.* Bochum, Winkler, 1998 (Diss. Kiel 1996), 73ff.

[149] Jung, 1932. CW 11, "Psychotherapists or the Clergy," paras. 488–538.

of the soul which has not yet found its meaning, he said, since it has no real love, no hope and no faith: "Among all my patients beyond midlife . . . , there is not a single one whose ultimate problem was not that of the religious attitude. . . . Here, gentlemen, a tremendous area is unfolding for the pastor. . . . It is high time that the pastor and the doctor of the soul join forces to overcome this enormous task."[150]

In a broader context, in the discussion of Jung's *Psychology of the Unconscious*, Keller pointed his reader to his article "Pragmatische und religiöse Denkweise," published in 1917. Here he connects pragmatic philosophy with analytical psychology and Christian faith. He considered that a tension existed between religious and scholarly thinking. Theology had tried to remove this, but the attempt had evoked protest from both sides. Now pragmatism was offering a new approach by granting a "practical meaning" to thinking.[151] William James called pragmatism "a new name for an old way of thinking," citing Socrates, Aristotle, Locke, and Hume in support of this.[152] Pragmatism seeks to bring the theoretical and practical sides of man into better harmony with each other.[153] James understands pragmatism as a method, not as a system. He considers the fruits, the consequences, and the effect. Thus the personal spiritual and soul needs of the individual acquire exceptional importance.[154]

Pragmatism's theory of truth is keenly opposed to the rationalist view: "Here, the truth of an idea is considered solely for its practical implications, for its effect, for its significance for life."[155] At the same time however, one must beware of misunderstandings because this statement cannot be reversed. Keller states that "the biblical writers constantly draw upon personal experience to demonstrate the truth of their proclamations. Next to scriptural proof, none occurs as frequently as the 'proof of the spirit and of power.'[156] In every age the value and truth of the faith is proven to the Christian through his new strength for living, his new joy, his new mystical experiences, the support which his faith guarantees him in every circumstance of life. The best evidence for the truth is the fact that his faith helps him with his life. . . . Pastoral care proceeds in the same

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[150] Ibid., para. 509.

[151] Keller, "Pragmatische und religiöse Denkweise," in *Schweizerische theologische Zeitschrift,* 1917, pp. 36–41 and pp.129–145, p. 36.

[152] Ibid., p. 37.

[153] Ibid., p. 37f.

[154] Ibid., p. 40.

[155] Ibid., p. 120, p. 130.

[156] Ibid., p. 134. Cf. 1. Cor. 2:4 and Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *Über den Beweis des Geistes und der Kraft*, 1777 [*On the Proof of the Spirit and the Power*].

way. . . . Real piety, and even religious thought itself, knows nothing of theoretical certainty. It is much more a case of saying: I sense God's reality and his truth through his activity."[157] Yet Keller warns against the "the subject's becoming autonomous because then the door would be opened to every kind of immoderation and error. But in the religious domain, protection against the danger of subjectivism derives not from logic but rather from the outcome: By their fruits shall ye know them."[158]

Keller claimed that Bergson's psychology of intuition, William James' psychology, and Jung's analytical psychology are all seeking to achieve space and recognition for that subjective element in all religious life. Such life belongs to the very essence of religion and always comes in for special persecution from the perspective of theoretical knowledge. Theological thinking takes a lively interest in this articulation of the problem, being repeatedly compelled to entertain a debate between the rational and irrational components of religion.[159] This debate affects every part of life. "Religiously expressed, this is the divine mystery before which human reason bows in awe."[160]

Keller also considers the concept of the "symbol," so important to Jung, asserting that this is a free creation of the artist within us, depicting his deepest empathy with reality without concerning himself with the subject-object split of theoretical reason. It gives expression to the unity of all life. Thus, the symbol arises from those deeper layers of the soul, which do not experience a differentiation from reality, but rather their interrelationship with it. But when religious thinking makes the symbols conscious, then they appear as bridges between that reality and the soul.[161]

g. Difficult Beginnings of the Psychological Club

Early in 1916 a committee was formed, which included Jung and Emma Jung-Rauschenbach, Harold and Edith McCormick-Rockefeller, Toni Wolff, and two others, for the purpose of setting up a Psychological Club.[162] This would be open to a wider public than the Association for Analytical Psychology. Jung and Keller were involved in both organizations. On 26 February 1916, a first constitutive general meeting of the

[157] Keller, *Pragmatische und religiöse Denkweise*, p. 135. See above I, 2c) p. 34.
[158] Ibid, p. 136f. Cf. Matthew 7:20.
[159] Ibid. p. 138f.
[160] Ibid., p. 140.
[161] Ibid., p. 143.
[162] See p. 29, footnote 65 for more on the *Club*.

Club took place, with a second meeting on 11 March, with forty people present.[163] Emma Jung, who was also working as an analyst, took on the role of president of the Club. Adolf Keller was considered for membership on the board.[164] While he did not take up this position, he was named to the library committee along with C. G. Jung and one other member. In 1916, the McCormicks made a villa available to the Club and took up the financial reins of its rapidly developing activities. A good year later they had to vacate these premises, and in 1919 following an interim arrangement it moved into the basement flat of the former manor house at 27 Gemeindestrasse in Zurich-Hottingen, where the Club is still based today.

Club members included non-analysts, among them analysands, alongside medically trained and lay analysts. Keller's wife, Tina Keller-Jenny, was an analysand of Jung and a member of the Club. She writes of Jung: "I carry to this day the impress of a powerful experience. One felt that here stood a man who had a message. . . . I was very eager to accompany my husband on these occasions. Although I had no preparation I felt that something important was being discussed, so I listened with my whole being. . . . I believe the attraction was due to the idea of a pioneer in a passionate search, trying to look behind the visible into the dark of the psyche."[165] Unlike her husband, Tina Keller confined herself to listening. The Association of Analytical Psychology appears to have faded away by the end of 1918, as no minutes of its meetings survive after this date.

Lectures and discussions were organized in the Club as they had been in the Association. C. G. Jung also led seminars in which Tina Keller often took part.[166] Additionally a consulting room was set up that was used by Jung and other analysts. After 1920, separate evenings for men and woman were organized,[167] and a social program was also offered (this was different from the Association), resulting from the fact that there were now so-called ordinary members for whom certain lectures and discussions were evidently too advanced.[168] Carnival entertainments, dinners, Christmas

[163] Minutes of the General Meetings of the Psychological Club, 26 February and 11 March 1916 (archive of the Zurich Psychological Club). Of the forty present, there were twenty-four women and sixteen men. According to Friedel Elisabeth Muser (*On the History of the Psychological Club*), there were a further fifteen members at this time.

[164] Minutes of the general meeting of the Club, 8 April 1916 (ibid.).

[165] *The Memoir of Tina Keller-Jenny,* op. cit., pp. 13–16.

[166] Tina Keller to C. G. Jung, 20 June 1959 (C. G. Jung estate, ETH Hs 1056 26 989).

[167] The first ladies' evening took place on 7 May 1921. Tina Keller spoke on at least two ladies' evenings, see below I, 2i) p. 60.

[168] Minutes of the Club Board, 20 December 1916 (Archive of the Psychological Club).

parties, games, and dance events as well as concerts are all mentioned. On 18 October 1924, Adolf Keller played the piano at a "Musical Evening," perhaps including Bach, Beethoven, or Brahms, his favorite composers.

At the board meeting in late 1916, Edith McCormick had already stressed the necessity of being more careful in the selection of new Club members than had been their habit. Emma Jung agreed with her.[169] The proposal revealed a conflict that would be drawn out over many years and that was closely interwoven with the differing needs of the Club members, although in principle they were in agreement that the Club should serve the "community of the individually analyzed."[170] Warning signs included frequent changes in the board and the fact that many Club members were leaving. Numbers participating in the members' meetings also left much to be desired. On 11 September 1920, the problem was thoroughly discussed under the heading of "relationship analysis." Adolf Keller pointed out that the "idea of Christianity" or "love, actually," could "create community." "But we have evil within us . . . and this should not be gossiped about behind each other's backs." For once, Tina Keller spoke out too: "I have no meaningful affiliation with the Club, although I do get some valuable input from the lectures. But whether I should stay for this reason?"[171]

At the board meeting of 16 November 1921 Tina Keller's resignation from the Club was acknowledged. Once again there was discussion about the purpose of the Club, as well as the problem of there being both active and inactive members. Adolf Keller complained about certain Club members: "It is really as if there is some prejudice against my profession; for example when I wished to defend Christianity, they acted as if Christianity is valueless. There must be room for the old in the new. Dr. Jung certainly seeks to find connections between them." Dr. Jung replied that analysis had offered the challenge of working away at the new while seeking a connection with the old: "But we stand in the new and cannot emphasize history too strongly."[172] Jung offered Keller a rapprochement; unlike certain Club members he had an appreciation for his position.

In September 1921 Edith McCormick returned to the United States after eight years in Zurich, and they were now faced with financial problems alongside the structural and personal issues. On 25 November

[169] Ibid., 20 December 1916.
[170] Cf. Muser, *On the History of the Psychological Club,* no page numbers.
[171] Minutes of the Club General Meeting, 11 September 1920.
[172] Minutes of the Club Board Meeting, 16 November 1921.

1922 C. G. and Emma Jung resigned from the Club, along with Toni Wolff.[173] The standing orders were revised and stricter entry requirements were introduced. From now on, one would have to apply for membership and be introduced by two sponsors. The body of members would then vote on whether an applicant should be accepted. Keller acted as sponsor at least once, together in fact with C. G. Jung.[174] In 1924 the Jungs and Toni Wolff rejoined the Club, and shortly after this Tina Keller was unanimously re-elected to membership.[175]

Adolf Keller was very active in the Club until the end of 1922. In 1923 he made two trips to the United States lasting several months, for he had now taken on a role in the ecumenical movement. In the following years he no longer had time to visit the Club on a regular basis, but in principle he remained one of its most faithful members. From 1934 Tina Keller no longer appears in the membership register. More on this follows.[176]

Between 1918 and 1947 Adolf Keller gave ten talks in the Club. The titles of his talks demonstrate that he had a distinctive voice in the Club, but apart from the first talk on "The Gospel and Christianity" in 1918,[177] none of the manuscripts have survived. In 1919 he reported on his two-month trip around America where he gave lectures on the dismal situation in postwar Europe. In 1920 he spoke on "The Ethical in Psychoanalysis." Some thoughts from the lecture are recorded in the minutes: "Rev. Keller introduced an audience of around twenty-five members to the two concepts of personal (individual) ethics and collective ethics, mentioning that analysis can only exist on the premise of this ethical concept: truthfulness and the will to be authentic. He pondered whether even the images of the unc. [unconscious] have ethical resonances, by pointing us towards the prophets etc."[178] In 1924 he spoke on "The Psychology of Mass Movements." He was probably reporting on his observations of mass religious movements in the United States. In a book from 1922 he wrote on this subject: "Today's large-scale evangelization . . . combines the emotional character of earlier events with the added element of improved organization and promotion, with an enormous machinery which

[173] See Muser, *On the History of the Psychological Club,*

[174] Minutes of the Club of 24 May 1922.

[175] Minutes of the Club General Meeting, 31 January 1925.

[176] Annual Reports of the Psychological Club 1932/33 and 1934/35, Zurich, Fluntern. On Tina Keller as Jung's analysand, see below I 2i), p. 56.

[177] See below I, 2h), p. 51.

[178] Minutes of the Club, 17 January 1920.

dominates the psychology of the individual in the minutest detail. It aims at an impact that has little to do with the power of the intellect and Protestant seriousness. The excitement to which the masses are aroused is . . . an electrical charge which certainly does not deepen religious life."[179] From this, Keller apparently broadened his argument to include the political mass movements in the Soviet Union and Fascist Italy. He was extremely astute politically. In 1925 he spoke on "The Limits of the Individual," in 1929 on "The Form of Religion," in 1930 on "The Cultural and Religious Meanings of Analytical Psychology," and in 1932 on "Soul and Destiny." Each time he sounded out the boundaries between Christian religion and the concept of religion in analytical psychology and, as was his wont, warned against resorting to absolutes in either the one or the other. His lecture "Psychological and Ideological Questions in the Contemporary Transformation of the American Consciousness" did not emerge until 1943 after Keller had returned from a two-year stay in the United States. Finally, in 1947 he spoke on "Karl Barth's *Question of Dialectical Theology*." More on this below.[180]

The Psychological Club gave Keller an important forum in which he also made the acquaintance of three important personalities: the writer Hermann Hesse, who read from his work on 19 February 1921 and with whom he later corresponded; the Jewish scholar Martin Buber,[181] who spoke to the Club in 1923 and whom he met again in America after the Second World War in the inter-religious World Brotherhood; and Albert Einstein,[182] with whom he was invited for dinner at Jung's home. On the other hand, it was most probably Keller who introduced the theologian, prominent Sinologist, and *I Ching* expert and translator Richard Wilhelm to the Club. C. G. Jung and Wilhelm became close friends.[183]

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[179] Keller, *Dynamis. Formen und Kräfte des amerikanischen Protestantismus*, Tubingen: Mohr (Siebeck) 1922, p. 90.

[180] See below I, 3b) and I, 3e), p. 68 and p. 85.

[181] Buber spoke on the "Ensoulment of the World." See also Jung to Dr. Carl Seelig, 25 February 1953, in C. G. Jung Letters II, 324. On Buber, see letter 44.

[182] On Einstein, see below II, "On the Letters."

[183] Richard Wilhelm (1873–1930), son-in-law of the theologian Christoph Blumhardt, Jr., cf. letter 1 below. Missionary to China, professor of sinology in Peking from 1921, and in Frankfurt am Main from 1924. Wilhelm gave his first talk at the Club on 15 December 1921. (Communication from Dr. Ursula Ballin, 18 August 2011.) See letters 32 and 65 below. See also Richard Wilhelm, *The Secret of the Golden Flower with a Commentary by C. G. Jung*, Wilhelm/Jung, *The Secret of the Golden Flower: A Chinese Book of Life*, trans. Cary Baynes. Routledge, London, 1931; rev. and aug. ed. 1962. See also letter 3.

h. The Individuation of Jesus: Keller's Lecture on the Gospel and Christianity

Keller's lecture "The Gospel and Christianity," dated late 1918, is particularly significant.[184] It is most likely that he did not give this talk to the Association for Analytical Psychology, which still existed at this point, but rather to the Psychological Club. Right at the outset he makes it clear that as far as analytical psychology was concerned "I do indeed experience some internal affinity, but I also experience some tensions."[185] But thanks to analysis he was no longer destined merely to assault and defensiveness.[186] He did not wish to be polemical, but was compelled to find a connection to the great spiritual movements of the past in which the new is already embryonically present. It was Keller's project to forge a relationship between the insights of analytical psychology and the gospel. It had struck him that in the circle around Jung no nuanced differentiation was made between "the pure life impulse of the gospel and what had become of this in the course of the history of Christianity."

Keller declared:

> I would like to speak of life processes that are accessible both in history and in personal experience to the awareness of every individual. With this deliberate qualification, I am speaking of the gospel as an impulse towards new life which was mysteriously visited upon man in the unfolding of history. It is a new powerful surge of life that burst out of the depths of the soul and the spirit and went out among the nations and has continued without ceasing even to this day. . . . Essential to this phenomenon is a new psychic life force, a dynamism, an *élan vital*, a breakthrough of new life forces that gave a new direction to the thoughts and energy of humanity. Seen from the perspective of the human soul, the gospel is a powerful tremor, running through the hearts, minds, and spirit of men and damming up their entire energy, creating the most powerful tension. It is a new intuition of the invisible from which man gained a new position in relation to the moral world. It is a state of emotional turmoil and a sanctification of the mind, which cannot be achieved by any old borrowing or possessing another good. At the same time it is an impetus

[184] Keller, *Evangelium und Christentum*, typescript, lecture dated end 1918 (archive of The Psychological Club, "manuscript file 1" M 12).

[185] Ibid., p. 1.

[186] Keller had evidently been analyzed by Jung and "Sister" Moltzer, although it was hardly a systematic analysis; cf. letter 68, Keller to Jung, 11 September 1956.

> of moral strength creating for the first time the vision of a complete triumph over all demonic powers.[187] . . . [The gospel] expresses in its own language these untheoretical, purely internal experiences and life purposes, by speaking of glad tidings or of the outpouring of the spirit, or of spirit, love, light, grace, or life in the most succinct terms.[188]

In its purest form, Keller continued, the gospel was incarnated in Jesus Christ. The "psychological reality" of Christ was important. Mystical elements were also incorporated into Jesus. His life signified "the fullest personal life. The Word became flesh and dwelt among us. . . . It created a definitive person in an individual and in a community and presents us with a full, pure humanity in its most perfect manifestation."[189]

Jesus had a distinctive relationship with his environment and the people of his time:

> Even from his boyhood hints of the beginnings of his individuation are reported. The boy leaves home and family and finds himself in opposition to them.[190] . . . He frees himself from the all-embracing collectivity of the people and his religion. He enters into solitude, the desert, he confronts the collective force of public opinion and of the law with his sovereign "But I say unto you." He enters the temple with revolutionary rebellion. . . . He died alone. But this aloneness does not mean a submergence into the individuation process. In his experience of God, in the founding of a new spiritual community, he achieved a higher collectivity. . . . Thus in the experience of God in his baptism his ego achieved a consciousness of the highest magnitude. As the son of God he achieved the highest fellowship and a worldwide mission among men.[191]

This did not extinguish Christ's individuality. Even in the moment of "highest fellowship with God" he did not fall into godlikeness.[192] He also distanced himself from the collectively unconscious power of the devil.

Jesus did not turn his life purpose into a doctrine of regulations or a moral law, but rather he offered up his personal life as an example to the

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[187] Keller, ibid., pp. 3f.
[188] Ibid., p. 4.
[189] Ibid., p. 5. Cf. John 1:14, "The Word became flesh."
[190] Keller alludes to the visit of the twelve-year-old Jesus to the temple in Jerusalem.
[191] Keller, ibid., pp. 5ff.
[192] Ibid., p. 7. The temptation of Jesus: Mark 1:12–13, Matthew 4:1–4, Luke 4:1–9.

world: "The fellowship of man with God yet at the same time differentiated from him, the glory of a completely independent, sovereign soul but in supreme fellowship is made . . . manifest. . . ." Jesus places man "completely under the will of God," but allows him "the wonderful autonomy of faith upon which both the acceptance of salvation and personal activity" also rest. The life of Jesus is a symbol of a "higher life"; the power of God had flowed through it as "sap flows through a tree."[193] For Jesus it was a question of a real liberation from the inner bondage of man:

> The natural man is in bondage. When we speak [in analytical psychology] of complexes, these are the same bondages expressed by the gospel as the dominion of the flesh, of the law, of sin. Liberation from this is accomplished for the Christian, as it were, in an analogy of the life of Jesus. . . . Through repentance, through sacrifice, through taking up the cross and in the resurrection to a new life the same dying and becoming is achieved that made the life impetus of Jesus into the illuminating pattern it is. . . . Every outworking of this life emanating from Jesus urges man to save his soul. . . . For what is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?[194] But the discovery . . . of the infinite value of the soul[195] is not the end. The value of the completely liberated individual is complemented by the value of highest fellowship finding its universal expression in the idea of the kingdom of God. Jesus leads man to both . . . , to individuation and at the same time to the highest fellowship. . . . [196]

"He is the mediator, . . . the vine that causes the single shoots to grow, . . . but at the same time the sap pulsing through the entire vine."[197] Monasticism, Christian mysticism, and the charitable acts of piety are outer expressions of the original Christian life principle.

Finally, Keller admitted that Christianity was indeed teeming with distorted and unfruitful examples. "The history of Christianity is thus a critique of Christianity."[198] The greatest liberation movement for the individual was the Reformation. Keller quoted Luther: "Here I stand; I can

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[193] Ibid., p. 8.

[194] Matthew 16:26 KJV.

[195] For this phrase, cf. Adolf [von] Harnack, *Das Wesen des Christentums*, Leipzig, J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1900, pp. 33 ff. On Harnack see above I, 1a).

[196] Keller, ibid., p.9.

[197] Ibid., p. 10. Cf. John 15.

[198] Ibid., p. 15.

do no other!"[199] and interpreted the exclamation with which he distanced himself from the papacy and the abuses of the church of those days as the "voice of the individual."[200]

Keller's lecture of 1918 was the high point and in a way also the end point of his involvement in both the Association for Analytical Psychology and the Psychological Club. While in this lecture he made use of Jungian terms such as "individuation" and was ahead of his time in being one of the first theologians to reinterpret the confrontation with the unconscious in a Christian sense,[201] he also drew attention to the limits of such reinterpretation by describing Jesus as one who leads man to the "highest fellowship."[202] Jesus proclaimed the Kingdom of God whose beginnings were in this world.[203] It was not individuation that was the ultimate goal, but this "higher fellowship." Keller also stressed—along with community among people—not simply this fellowship with God, but also the "limits" existing in opposition to God, thereby declining to advocate the soul's fusion with God. Keller's lecture was an original, ground-breaking achievement.

i. Tina Keller Jenny, Early Analysand of C. G. Jung

Any consideration of the relationship between C. G. Jung and Adolf Keller must include Keller's wife, Tina Keller-Jenny. Being one of the first to undergo depth analysis with Jung, Tina Keller also evidently belonged to "the few" who in Jung's view were suited to the individuation process, a principle of central importance in his practice.[204]

Tina Jenny was raised in a sheltered upper-class milieu.[205] Her father, a textile industrialist, had her learn English even as a child. Her mother exemplified the Victorian feminine ideal of barely showing her feelings,

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[199] Cf. Walther von Loewenich, *Martin Luther, Der Mann und sein Werk*. Munich, List Press, 1982, p. 185.

[200] Luther before the Diet of Worms in 1521. Keller, *Evangelium und Christentum*, p. 16.

[201] Keller, ibid., p. 6. Cf. Jung's critic Wolfgang Trillhaas: Depth psychology has led to a dangerous "reinterpretation of religious life and its specific forms of expression" by robbing the phenomena of religious life of their original meaning. *Religionspsychologie* in RGG, 3rd ed., Vol. 5, 1022/23.

[202] Keller, ibid., p. 6 and p. 9.

[203] In a broader sense, Keller follows Ritschl and Harnack with this theory of the Kingdom of God.

[204] Jung, *MDR*, p. 222. Also see above I, 2c), p. 30.

[205] Tina Keller-Jenny, *Autobiography* 1981, typescript, 1 (private archive of P. Keller). English in the original. All citations are from typescript. Sections of it have been published

although according to her oldest granddaughter she had a warm heart.[206] Her parents engaged private tutors to educate Tina and her siblings in order to protect them from damaging external influences. "We were to be told only happy stories,"[207] she remarks early in her memoir. "Yet our parents meant well and tried to transmit to their children the best they knew."[208] Tina was shy and was often plagued with anxiety, especially at night.[209] At age eighteen, she was sent to Cheltenham Ladies College in the south of England. On her return home she trained as a nurse, much to the consternation of her parents. She enjoyed the work, and soon after met Adolf Keller who was fourteen years her senior.

She experienced her marriage to Keller early in 1912 as a liberation. "I had now found a partner who took me into the world outside. I felt I left my parents' restricted world for good. Yet happily, my parents liked and respected my husband. . . . There was something so healthy about my husband, everything was so natural. He was a spiritual man, but his ideas and also his religion were natural."[210] She describes the first years of their marriage as "blissful."[211] In time three daughters and two sons came along. Adolf Keller writes: "We had a very warm and loving family life together."[212] Even so, Tina Keller struggled with the role of minister's wife and was irritated that even in the Psychological Club she was addressed as "Mrs. Rev. Keller."[213]

Then came the backlash! Tina Keller felt ever more clearly: "This clash of a strong forward drive and the backward pull of strong conservative forces made my life very difficult for me."[214] She sought to emulate her husband: "his knowledge, his enormous capacity for work and intellectual

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in Wendy K. Swan (ed.), *The Memoir of Tina Keller-Jenny*, New Orleans, Spring Journal 2011

[206] Doris Sträuli-Keller, *Erinnerungen—und jetzt*, Typescript 2000, p. 7 (Sulzberg Foundation archive, Winterthur).

[207] Tina Keller, *Autobiography*, typescript, 1981, p. 28, English in original (Tina Keller wrote mostly in English). *The Memoir of Tina Keller-Jenny*, op. cit., p. 4.

[208] Ibid., 1981, p. 5f. *The Memoir*, ibid., p. 8.

[209] Tina Keller, *Wege inneren Wachstums für eingespannte Menschen*, Erlenbach / Bad Homburg: Bircher-Benner, offprint from *Wendepunkt*, 1972, p. 7.

[210] Tina Keller, *Autobiography* 1981, 5. English original. *The Memoir*, ibid., p. 7.

[211] Tina Keller, *Wege inneren Wachstums*, p. 7.

[212] Adolf Keller, *Aus meinem Leben*, p. 76.

[213] Minutes of the *Psychological Club*, 31 January 1925. In Switzerland, this would have been the usual form of address for the wife of a clergyman.

[214] Tina Keller, *Autobiography* 1981, p. 8. English original. Cf. *The Memoir*, op. cit., p. 10: "In me this urge was still stronger and as I was also conditioned by my parents and their education; the strong urge for individual expression fought against the conservative forces. At times I had a sensation of wanting to break out of prison walls."

concentration seemed to me to be a distant wonderland. How I envied him."[215] "My husband's harmonious spontaneity demonstrated a more pleasant kind of life, which I wanted to acquire also. . . . I had a different nature; I had a different heredity and upbringing."[216] "I was caught in moods of anxiety and depression."[217] Keller was worried, and turned to Jung, who advised an analysis. "My husband thought," said Tina Keller, "that my anxieties would disappear after a few hours of dream analysis."[218] At first she was assigned to the analyst Maria Moltzer,[219] then, "probably around 1915," she came to Jung.[220] He informed her that her analysis would take a long time and that her anxieties were a product of her childhood experiences.[221] He apparently suspected a slight neurosis, a "state of disunity with oneself" due to a failed adaptation.[222] At that time, Jung's main interest was the "maturation of the personality."[223] Tina Keller writes that Jung "wished to strengthen my ego, for he believed it felt threatened by my husband's strong personality. But I am not sure that this was the root of my anxieties."[224] "Thus I became embroiled in a lifelong individuation process without actually ever consenting to it."[225]

The start of the therapy came right in the middle of the crisis into which Jung plummeted after his separation from Freud. He was disoriented and isolated: "After the break with Freud, all my friends and acquaintances dropped away."[226] In October 1913 he had a "vision" in which he saw a monstrous flood, floating rubble, blood and death—probably a premonition of the war.[227] A few weeks later he began, as already mentioned, to face the "assaults of the unconscious," to engage with the images and inner

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[215] Tina Keller, *Zusatz zu Adolf Kellers Aus meinem Leben*, manuscript, p. 3 (private archive of P. Keller).

[216] Tina Keller, *Autobiography* 1981, p. 84. English original.

[217] Ibid., p. 6f. English original.

[218] Tina Keller, *Wege inneren Wachstums*, p. 7.

[219] In 1918 "Sister" Maria Moltzer quit the Psychological Club. Adolf Keller tried in vain to persuade her to stay. See minutes of the *Psychological Club*, 1 June 1918.

[220] Tina Keller, *Wege inneren Wachstums,* p. 10.

[221] Tina Keller, *Autobiography* 1981, p. 11.

[222] On the definition of "neurosis," see Jung *MDR*, p. 386.

[223] Daniel Hell, *Die Eigenart des Menschen. C. G. Jung und die Norm des Individualismus*, *NZZ*, p. 24. September 2011, p. 70.

[224] Tina Keller, *Wege inneren Wachstums*, p. 10. She attributed the cause of her anxieties more to the "somber atmosphere" of her mother than her husband, see *Autobiography* 1981, p. 7.

[225] Ibid., p. 10 and p. 8.

[226] Jung, *MDR*, p. 167.They did not all drop away; Riklin and Maeder, for example, remained, see above I, 2b) p. 31.

[227] Ibid., pp. 175–176.

voices of his unconscious.[228] He described this as a "scientific experiment" in finding "the image that were concealed in the emotions," which otherwise might have left him "torn to pieces by them."[229] It was at this time that his work on the *Red Book* began.[230] Sonu Shamdasani writes: "The overall theme of the book is how Jung regains his soul and overcomes the contemporary malaise of spiritual alienation. This is ultimately achieved through enabling the rebirth of a new image of God in his soul and developing a new worldview in the form of a psychological and theological cosmology." [231] Tina Keller wrote of Jung's experiment: "Eruptions from the collective unconscious can be like an explosion of chaotic contents and may even resemble a psychosis. It was Dr. Jung's great achievement that he withstood such powerful eruptions, allowing the plenitude of thoughts and visions to emerge, while at the same time maintaining control, consciously observing and reflecting, as he himself described it."[232]

Jung knew that destructive effects could be triggered by the inner images. "The images of the unconscious place a great responsibility upon a man."[233] Although he considered individuation a path reserved only for the few,[234] he came to this conclusion: "As a result of my experiment I learned how helpful it can be, from the therapeutic point of view, to find the particular images that lie behind emotions."[235] So Tina Keller was one of the first clients Jung guided on the journey "into the dark." In 1937 he wrote: "If you want to cure a neurosis you have to risk something."[236] He gained Tina's trust, often inviting her to his tower in Bollingen, along with Toni Wolff and some others: a privilege![237]

Tina writes: "Dr. Jung would teach me mental hygiene. If moods came, I should not fight them, but go through them, as if walking through a

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[228] Ibid., p. 177. Also see above I, 2c), p. 30.

[229] Ibid., p. 177.

[230] Jung, *The Red Book, Liber Novus* (editor and "Introduction," Sonu Shamdasani), 2009. Jung, *MDR* pp. 188ff.

[231] Sonu Shamdasani, "Introduction" to *The Red Book*, p. 207.

[232] Tina Keller, *Wege inneren Wachstums*, p. 6.

[233] Jung, *MDR,* p. 218.

[234] Shamdasani, "Introduction" to *The Red Book* p. 208. See above I, 2c).

[235] Jung, *MDR*, p. 177.

[236] Jung, "Psychology and Religion" [The Terry Lectures, Yale, written in English] CW 11, para. 28. Wolfgang Trillhaas observes, "further, it was characteristic of psychoanalysis and its devotees quickly to proceed to the 'application' of their knowledge and methods." In *Religionspsychologie*, RGG 3rd ed., Vol. 5, p. 1023.

[237] Jung to Tina Keller, 18 June 1931 and 21 June 1933 (C. G. Jung estate, ETH archive Hs1056: 1164 and Hs. 1056: 2175).

tunnel. In this way these moods would disappear more quickly than if I fought them. . . . I had to learn to let the so-called 'unconscious' . . . come up, also in words; and for a long time I did not succeed. . . . I was evidently not a united person; there were several wills in me that went in different directions."[238] In time, individuation became a pressing need for her. "I passionately wanted to find myself. There was such a deep urge in me that I threw myself heart and soul into the process. This my husband had not anticipated, and when he saw what it did to me, he was terribly shocked."[239] "My fear had been an irritation for my husband, but my analysis brought a much greater stress into my life, also for my family."[240] With her inner eye she saw herself "as if I were a young woman inside a stone and I must, as if I were a living statue, free myself from the stone walls. . . . I had to learn pleasure."[241] She was troubled by the question: "How do we integrate the dark side of life?"[242] She still suffered from anxiety even after many years of therapy.[243]

Sonu Shamdasani writes: "Tina Keller . . . recalls that Jung often spoke of himself and his own experiences: 'In those early days, when one arrived for the analytic hour, the so-called "*Red Book*" often stood open on an easel. In it Dr Jung had been painting or had just finished a picture. Sometimes he would show me what he had done and comment upon it. The careful and precise work he put into these pictures and into the illuminated text that accompanied them were a testimony to the importance of this undertaking. The master thus demonstrated to the student that psychic development is worth time and effort.'" [244] Tina Keller belonged to the few people who were permitted to view, or at least to cast a glance within, the *Red Book*. Jung even allowed her to read excerpts from the *Black Books*.[245] "In her analyses with Jung and Toni Wolff, Tina Keller conducted active imaginations and also painted. Far from being a solitary endeavor, Jung's confrontation with the unconscious was a collective one, in which he took his patients along with him. Those around Jung formed an avant-garde group engaged in a social experiment that they

[238] Tina Keller, *Autobiography* 1981, p. 14f. English original.
[239] Ibid., p. 79. English original.
[240] Ibid., p. 81. English original.
[241] Ibid., p. 58. English original.
[242] Ibid., p. 10. English original.
[243] Tina Keller, *Wege inneren Wachstums*, p. 14 (cf. *Autobiography* 1981, p. 81).
[244] Shamdasani, "Introduction" to *The Red Book* p. 205.
[245] Shamdasani, ibid., p. 215. Jung wrote the *Black Books* between 1913 and 1932. They form the basis of the text (about a half) of *The Red Book*.

hoped would transform their lives and the lives of those around them."[246] At the same time, Tina Keller's analysis was a training in psychoanalysis, and she also attended Jung's teaching seminars.

After some years she terminated the analysis. She completed *gymnasium* so that she could be a better conversation partner for Adolf. Following this, although she was already the mother of three children, she expressed a desire to study medicine. Both Adolf Keller and C. G. Jung were skeptical, but Keller came to the conviction that this was "a vocation"[247] and that he must make it possible for her to undertake these studies or otherwise she would risk becoming unhappy.[248] All the same, it was important for Tina not to neglect the children. After the family moved to Geneva in 1928 she wanted to give up her studies but was encouraged by Adolf to complete them. She qualified, and in 1931 opened a Jungian psychiatric practice in Geneva as one of the first female psychiatrists in Switzerland.[249]

In the meantime she had recommenced the analysis, this time with Toni Wolff, who had also got into a "mess" during her own analysis with Jung and so had a good deal of empathy for Tina's problems.[250] She experienced the most important part of her analysis with Toni:[251] "I believe she saved my sanity."[252] The "black doctor" often appeared to her, constantly informing her: "I have messages for you" and ordered her to lend her voice to his communications: "If I did, I would go insane."[253] "[Toni Wolff] was fully present and intuitively said the right thing at critical moments."[254] Tina learned to accept "the black doctor" as the dark side of her Self. Her anxieties waned. Toni Wolff became a good friend of Tina Keller and the godmother of her younger son, Pierre.

"I also came to the place where I knew that I must separate from Jung."[255] From 1934 Tina was no longer a member of the Psychological Club, although friendly letters survive between her and Jung from the

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[246] Shamdasani, ibid., p. 205. On Toni Wolff, see above 1, 2, p.c) p. 31 and footnotes 75, p. 32 and 77, p. 33. See also I, 2i), p. 59.

[247] Tina Keller, *Autobiography* 1981, p. 17 and p. 40. English original.

[248] Keller, *Aus meinem Leben*, p. 77.

[249] Tina Keller, *Wege inneren Wachstums*, p. 17. See below I, 3a), p. 67.

[250] Shamdasani, "Introduction" to *The Red Book,* p. 204. Toni Wolff (1888–1953) contributed much to the development of Jung's theories in the crisis years.

[251] Tina Keller, *Wege inneren Wachstums*, p. 15.

[252] Tina Keller, *Autobiography* 1981, p. 19. English original.

[253] Ibid., p. 23. English original.

[254] Tina Keller, *Wege inneren Wachstums,* p. 15

[255] Tina Keller, *Autobiography* 1981, p. 82. English original.

years 1931 through 1958.[256] They were on first-name terms. In 1938 she gave a talk at a "Ladies Evening" of the Psychological Club in Zurich entitled, "From Animus to Fuhrer. Inner experiences during analysis."[257] However, Tina was careful not to undertake depth analyses, because having once done so—against Jung's advice by the way—she had landed herself in a crisis.[258] She was glad to have studied medicine and thus to have acquired thorough knowledge of physical illnesses. She was especially concerned "to help troubled people where a long and complicated psychoanalysis does not seem indicated."[259] She considered herself a "gardener" accompanying the growth of her patient. Alongside talking therapy she developed the use of autosuggestion following the Coué method, as well as relaxation, breathing, and movement exercises coupled with healing methods and nutrition programs of the Zurich doctor Dr. Maximilian Bircher-Benner. With Toni Wolff she discovered the use of dance as therapy. Adolf Keller attests that Tina was a skilled, perceptive doctor.[260]

The religious aspect of Tina Keller's analysis with Jung has been excluded until now. It merits closer exploration since it was extremely important and had implications for her entire life. In old age Tina Keller wrote: "My analysis was mainly concerned with religious issues. If there is something in me today that sustains and carries me, then it emerged out of the engagement with these questions."[261] It was Jung's goal to bring analysands to the point at which they could engage directly with the religious symbols in the depths of their soul. As he wrote of his intention later in life: "Not only do I leave the door open for the Christian message, but I consider it of central importance for Western man. It needs, however, to be seen in a new light, in accordance with the changes wrought by the contemporary spirit."[262] For years Tina Keller defended her husband's faith to Jung:[263] "I fully agreed with my husband's religion. I saw, how it sustained him. . . . He demonstrated a living religion by the way he lived. But though mentally in agreement, I was still full of fear."[264] According to Jung

[256] Correspondence of Tina Keller and C. G. Jung (ETH library archive, Zurich, C. G. Jung estate Hs: 1056).

[257] The talk is untraceable.

[258] Jung to Tina Keller, 2 December 1937 (C. G. Jung estate, Hs 1056: 6234). Cf. Keller to Jung, letter 7.

[259] Tina Keller, *Autobiography* 1981, p. 47. English original.

[260] Adolf Keller, *Aus meinem Leben*, p. 80.

[261] Adolf Keller, *Aus meinem Leben*, p. 80.

[262] Jung, *MDR*, p. 210.

[263] Tina Keller, *Wege inneren Wachstums*, p. 10.

[264] Tina Keller, *Autobiography* 1981, p. 12. English original.

there are "countless neurotics who are so simply because they do not know how to seek happiness in their own manner; they do not even realize where the lack lies."[265]

He also seems to have made this diagnosis in Tina's case. Tina claims that Jung knew "that [the analysis] would change my religious attitude, that I could end up in opposition to my husband and that all this would endanger my marriage."[266] And indeed: "I came to the recognition that I could not live through the faith of my husband."[267] She now believed "in the divine essence in every man," and that if a person pursues what is most alive in him, then he reaches his God, and thus the inner unites with the other."[268] She confirmed the outcome thus: "Although my husband was interested in Jung's ideas and his writings, they did not touch his religious convictions. He made a definite barrier between religion and psychology . . . and could therefore in no way understand that Jung's ideas had changed my religious outlook."[269] Adolf Keller, however, came to the insight that "true fidelity accompanies the becoming and transformations of the other."[270]

Tina Keller's religious development continued: in 1935 she spoke in the Psychological Club women's group on the subject of "My Journey through the Oxford Group."[271] This religious movement had been founded by American theologian Frank Buchman[272] and attracted many intellectuals. St. Peter's cathedral in Geneva would be full to overflowing for an Oxford event. Adolf and Tina Keller initially sympathized with the group, but Adolf immediately distanced himself when Buchman's uncritical stance towards Hitler became known. Tina also quickly dissociated herself from the group when she was expected to offer *pro bono* therapy to more and more psychically unstable group members and when "complete surrender to God" was demanded by the group leader: "The spell was broken, I was free again."[273] Then she took a further step: "I joined the Episcopal

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[265] Jung, *The Psychology of the Unconscious*, pp. 259–260. (Hinckle translation). Later editions: CW5., para. 342.(R.F.C. Hull translation)

[266] Tina Keller, *Wege inneren Wachstums*, p. 7f.

[267] Tina Keller, *Autobiography* 1981, p. 26. English original.

[268] Tina Keller, Addendum to Adolf Keller's *Aus meinem Leben*, p. 6 (private archive of P. Keller).

[269] Tina Keller, *Autobiography* 1981, p. 81. English original.

[270] Xenos (=Adolf Keller), *Auf der Schwelle. Einsichten und Ausblicke in die tiefere Wirklichkeit*. Zurich, Wanderer, 1929, p. 87.

[271] The manuscript is untraceable.

[272] See Frank Jehle, *Emil Brunner*, pp. 273–291. Cf. Jung on Buchman in *Psychology and Religion*, CW 11, πs paras. 34 & 275.

[273] Tina Keller, *Autobiography* 1981, p. 35. English original.

[Anglican] Church . . . that I had loved during my schooling in England."[274] Adolf Keller was happy that she found a home and fellowship in this Church of which he too was very fond.[275]

Years later in 1972 Tina Keller wrote: "Since something was lacking in the traditional churches, more and more people were turning in their need to psychology. What was expected of psychotherapists had previously been found with some early priests and ministers. . . . However, it is more and more clear that man is seeking something transcendent. . . . Psychology alone is not able to effect the breakthrough to the transcendent and this is what man urgently needs."[276] Evidently, in old age she drew closer to the theological position of her now late husband.

With hindsight she acknowledged that "my meeting with Dr. Jung, his ideas, and personality was such an undigested portion of my life. His image stood before my mind's eye as a great rock, blocking my way and outlook. . . . I had to face the painful fact that I was blind in my admiration and later in my hostility . . . till my emotions gradually calmed down and I could see more realistically."[277] Jung had been "not to my liking. . . . But his ideas fascinated me, they were authentic and alive."[278] That said, "Dr. Jung was too one-sided by [being] geared toward the development of the individual and lacked the warmth of humanitarian concerns others had. . . . I wanted a man who was dedicated to a humanitarian cause."[279] And: "In fact, it beggars belief that Jung did that [that is, exposed her to a confrontation with the unconscious], but at that time much too great an optimism prevailed about this."[280] The pioneer takes the risk of the unknown upon himself.[281] Nonetheless according to Adolf Keller, Tina's psyche was deeply explored. The descent into the unconscious is "sometimes a type of Dantean journey into the inferno," yet "new creative images" also emerged from Tina's psychic depths.[282]

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[274] Ibid., p. 39. English original.

[275] Adolf Keller, *Aus meinem Leben*, p. 79.

[276] Tina Keller, *Wege inneren Wachstums*, p. 34.

[277] Tina Keller, *Autobiography* 1981, p. 76. English original.

[278] Ibid., p. 12. English original.

[279] Ibid., p. 38f. Cf. Rainer Keintzel. Jung's pupil Tina Keller—and she was definitely not alone in this—found that Jung "lacked genuine humanity." In *C. G. Jung. Retter der Religion? Auseinandersetzung mit Werk und Wirkung*, Matthias-Grünewald Mainz, Quell Stuttgart 1991, p. 172. On Adolf Keller's humanitarian engagement, see below I, 3a), p. 66.

[280] Tina Keller, *Wege inneren Wachstums*, p. 7.

[281] Ibid., p. 29.

[282] Keller, *Aus meinem Leben*, pp. 81 and 78.

Ultimately Tina was grateful to Jung: "There is now a central goal, in which I feel my conscious and unconscious wills are united."[283] "My depth-analysis had led me into a fundamental change. I believe it was my destiny."[284] And also, "I am convinced that it was extraordinarily healing for me to experience this first part of my analysis as a struggle."[285] "Nothing can change the fact that I needed this enormous challenge, in order to become the person I was meant to become."[286] And above all, "Jung had always stood by me."[287] She wrote to Aniela Jaffé: "Even if I do not wish any longer to be one of C. G. Jung's devotees, this does not alter the fact that I was the only Jungian practitioner in Geneva for seventeen years (1931–1948) and as such received referrals from Professor Jung. . . . His discoveries form the basis of my work even if I am always seeking new ways of working in therapeutic practice. I am doing his theories a great service precisely because I have access to circles which are not available to other Jungian pupils and also thanks to my independent approach (which Professor Jung encouraged in me)."[288]

At the beginning of 1958 Adolf Keller suffered a stroke while in California, where Tina Keller herself took up residence some weeks later. For the five years of her husband's illness and some years after his death she worked at a psychiatric clinic in Los Angeles with the Zurich cabaret artist and dance therapist Trudi Schoop. Both women developed new methods of treatment for the psychically ill, in particular bodywork. Tina Keller had long been convinced that many patients do not respond to talk therapy. After returning to Switzerland it was she—as the last of his early collaborators—who gave the speech on the 10th anniversary of Jung's death in 1971.[289] The tone of her speech is not uncritical, but in principle it was conciliatory.

In 1940 Adolf Keller wrote of Tina: "In this psychoanalytic work an unconscious personality was generated whom I had not known before and who guided the once fearful, shy, and compliant woman through a revolutionary process to a great inner autonomy."[290] The "deep mutual

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[283] Tina Keller, *Autobiography* 1981, p. 31. English original.

[284] Ibid.,p. 41. English original.

[285] Tina Keller, *Wege inneren Wachstums*, p. 10.

[286] Tina Keller *Autobiography* 1981, p. 80. English original.

[287] Ibid., p. 77. Corrected. English original stated "Jung always hold for me."

[288] Tina Keller to Jaffé, 22 July 1959 (C. G. Jung estate, ETH, Hs 1056: 26 990). The Kellers moved back to Zurich in 1948 where Tina once again opened a practice.

[289] See Tina Keller's *Wege inneren Wachstums für eingespannte Menschen*, Erlenbach, Bad Homburg: Bircher-Benner, Offprint from *Wendepunkt*, 1972.

[290] Adolf Keller, *Aus meinem Leben*, 77ff.

foundation"—thus Keller to his oldest daughter—remained as ever.[291] After Adolf's death Tina Keller wrote: "There was in our partnership much more sharing and understanding than former generations knew."[292] The relaxed and cheerful atmosphere surrounding Keller right into old age had been refreshing: "It was a miracle that I [Tina] found such a partner who took me with him into a wider outlook and a more natural way of living."[293]

j. Jung and Keller Together in Zurich: An Overview

For Keller, the engagement with Jung's psychology was almost an existential need. He was convinced that this psychology accentuated his personal development. His involvement in both the Association and the Club was exceptionally active and creative. He was present for discussions, long voting debates, and countless talks. He agreed with Jung about many fundamental problems—the value of the soul, the significance of religion, pragmatism and empiricism, the support of psychically troubled people, and so on. He often acknowledged that he had learned much from Jung concerning his knowledge of human nature and how to treat psychically unstable people. Keller, along with Oskar Pfister, was a pioneer in the development of psychologically underpinned pastoral care, or pastoral psychology.

While he saw himself in the role of a learner, he was no blind imitator. He frequently voiced criticisms, such as on the question of war, on social issues, but especially on the question of God. By often emphasizing a theological viewpoint and also cross-referencing to philosophy and literary studies, he endeavored to preserve Jung, the Association, and the Club from an absolutist position regarding analytical psychology. Even during his active period in the Association and in the first years of the Club, he already gave hints of the distance that took him from Jung after 1919.

As can be seen in the minutes, Jung was very interested in debating with Keller. He engaged with his questions, allowing himself to be challenged by them. He was—at least from 1914 on—the undisputed leader of the group and made sure that Keller knew this, but all the same he let himself be stimulated by Keller's collaboration in the development of his thinking. Jung knew that religion lent depth to his teaching. Personally he

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[291] Adolf Keller to Doris Keller, no place nor date, probably late summer 1937 (Doris Sträuli-Keller estate, file of "family letters," Sulzberg Foundation archive, Winterthur).

[292] Tina Keller, *Autobiography* 1981, p. 3. English original.

[293] Ibid., p. 85. English original.

considered himself a religious man, yet due to the negative experiences he had had as a youth he was hostile to theology. This was true even towards the relaxed, open theology of Keller. But all the same, a genuine conversation between the two men seems to have been conducted over a long period of time.

And despite all differences there was an intellectual and familial connection among Keller, Jung, and their wives. Jung and his wife often invited Adolf and Tina Keller to Open Evenings and to eat at their private residence in Kusnacht, even before the official separation from Freud, as Tina notes.[294] The Kellers also maintained a hospitable household. Both couples had five children. Jung was godfather to Margrit, the Kellers' second daughter, born 1916. Keller baptized Helene, Emma, and C. G. Jung's youngest daughter, in the library of their house in Kusnacht.[295] On one occasion Jung sends greetings to Adolf Keller in a letter to Tina Keller and asks in a confidential tone: "Has he grown his beard again?"[296] Nonetheless, even if they said "du" to one another, the relationship between them was always one of reserved friendship, wrote Keller in 1940.[297] Furthermore, it was not an equal friendship; Jung was the master. And Jung was and remained a psychologist, albeit one with religious interests, while Keller remained a theologian, albeit with psychological interests.

[294] Tina Keller, *The Memoir*, op. cit., p. 13.

[295] In a communication from Ulrich Hoerni, 21 December 2012. Home baptisms were common at the time. In 1932 Keller held the funeral for Jung's mother-in-law, Bertha Rauschenbach; see letter 3.

[296] C. G. Jung to "Dear Tina," 10 April 1936 (ETH library archive, Zurich Hs 1056: 5054).

[297] Keller, *Aus meinem Leben*, p. 63.

Three

The Paths Diverge

a. Keller's Ecumenical and Humanitarian Engagement[1]

At the end of the First World War Keller took up a completely new professional role, with the focus of his work shifting to the inter-church ecumenical movement and humanitarian aid. This began early in 1919 with an invitation from the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America to visit the United States. On a lecture tour organized for him spanning half the country, he reported on the difficult situation facing the churches and on the general crisis in post-war Europe. Outside of the lecture program, he visited the theologian Elwood Worcester,[2] who headed a clinic in Boston and who, with four psychiatrists, was seeking holistic methods in the treatment of patients. Keller was deeply impressed. Further, he paid his respects to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., in New York, recommended by Edith Rockefeller McCormick. Keller's facility for public speaking, his ease at communication, and his openness to the world were recognized by the American Federal Council of Churches, and the fact that he came from neutral Switzerland was also welcomed. He was thus commissioned with the task of re-establishing the relationship between the American and the European churches that had been ruptured during the

[1] Keller's involvement in the ecumenical movement and in humanitarian aid is thoroughly described in M. Jehle-Wildberger, *Adolf Keller. Ecumenist, World Citizen, Philanthropist*, pp. 29–157.

[2] Elwood Worcester (1862–1940), member of the Episcopalian Church, incorporated concepts from theology, philosophy, psychology, and socialism into the work of the Emmanuel Movement, which he founded.

First World War. "On this trip" wrote Keller," I became one of the pioneers of what was to become the ecumenical movement."[3]

The reconciliation work now engaging Keller required countless trips throughout Europe and the United States. In 1920 he was among the co-founders of the ecumenical movement "Life and Work (for Practical Christianity)," which would become a constituent part of the Ecumenical Council of Churches in 1948. In 1922, at Keller's instigation and with substantial American and Swiss assistance, the ecumenical organization Inter-Church Aid for devastated Europe was founded. He undertook leadership of the humanitarian work that became the central focus of his new responsibilities. At the end of 1923 he resigned his ministry at St. Peter's church.

In 1925 at the first World Congress of the Ecumenical Movement in Stockholm—"Life and Work"—he was elected as one of the two general secretaries. He also became the editor in chief of the Stockholm journal dedicated to the dialogue between economy, jurisprudence, and theology.[4] He also read "comparative ecclesiology" at the universities of Zurich and Geneva. Finally, he introduced "Ecumenical Seminars" to which he invited professors and students of theology from Europe and overseas. These seminars paved the way for today's Ecumenical Institute at Bossey on Lake Geneva. Keller moved to Geneva with his family in 1928 when it was designated the center of non-Catholic ecumenism. Tina Keller supported her husband's professional re-orientation.

The focus of Keller's new role was inter-church aid. Within this program, he was responsible for the care of war-damaged Protestant churches and their social programs in many European countries—including Germany, the country considered most culpable in starting the war. He developed a "leadership program" and organized a student exchange for ministers, professors of theology, and church leaders from poor East European churches. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., was the main funder of the program.[5] Keller arranged material aid for Christian Armenians and Assyrians driven out of Turkey and for Orthodox and Protestant Christians oppressed by the Soviets around Leningrad, as well as for victims of famine in Ukraine. This was always offered in tandem with spiritual support. Principles such as "helping others to help themselves" and the "mutuality of aid" were part of Keller's philosophy and still endure to this day.

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[3] Keller, *Aus meinem Leben*, p. 98.

[4] He also had contact with the League of Nations' International Labor Organization.

[5] On John D. Rockefeller, Jr., see above I, 2e).

Tina Keller writes that, in humanitarian aid, her husband found a work he loved, in which his talents could blossom, and which corresponded exactly with his personality. Necessity loves both neighbor and self—something she knew from her own experience as an analysand of Jung and as a psychiatrist.[6] In any case, she thought that Jung relied too much upon a conviction that analysands would turn almost automatically towards their fellow men as a consequence of the individuation process.[7]

Again, it was Keller who was the chief instigator in the founding of the Swiss Protestant Council of Churches (SEK) in 1920, and he served this body as general secretary for many years. These new activities testify to Keller's innovative and bridge-building abilities. In all these activities, he had only one permanent colleague available to him. His capacity for work was immense, but there was barely any spare time for any extensive engagement with psychology. However, even in his new role he still considered himself to be a minister, only now in a "wider congregation, a broad church."[8]

b. Keller's Turn toward Karl Barth's Dialectical Theology[9]

From 1919 on, there is evidence that Keller distanced himself theologically from Jung. This contention was in itself nothing new, but it was now intensified by Karl Barth's dialectical theology.[10]

Barth had been a curate with Keller in Geneva in 1909, and since that time they had stayed in touch. Several of Keller's letters from 1912 show that Barth occasionally turned to Keller for advice on psychically unstable members of his congregation,[11] although he considered Keller's inclination towards psychoanalysis to be "chasing the wind."[12] Keller assured him that he was nowhere near being in thrall to psychology and that he

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[6] Tina Keller, *Autobiography* 1981, p. 39.

[7] Tina Keller in *The Memoir of Tina Keller-Jenny*, p. 74 On this, see II "On the Letters," p. 91 and footnote 28, p. 96.

[8] Keller, *Am Fusse des Leuchtturms . . .* , Zurich: Wanderer Verlag 1940, p. 33ff.

[9] Karl Barth (1886–1968), Swiss Theologian.

[10] Cf., M. Jehle-Wildberger, *Karl Barth und Adolf Keller, Geschichte einer Freundschaft*, in *Theologische Zeitschrift*, Basel, Reinhardt 2010, Jg. 66, Heft 4, pp. 355–380.

[11] One of these letters is dated 19 June 1912. Cf., Karl Barth's untitled article on the Swiss National Exhibition in Bern in 1912 (published with commentary by Hans-Anton Drewes and Hinrich Stoevesandt in association with Herbert Helms and Friedrich-Wilhelm Marquardt) under *Gruppe 44 IV Kirchenwesen,* footnote 19, written by the publishers, in Karl Barth GA 22 pp. 457–468, Zurich, Theologischer Verlag (TVZ), 1993, p. 466.

[12] In his letter of 18 February 1916, Keller cites from a missing letter by Barth dated mid-February 1916. (KBA [Karl Barth archive] 9316.25).

had always warned against "psychologism" in the Club,[13] but did admit to seeking meaning in the unconscious, "in those depths where God comes alive in the soul"; he felt he had to find this, otherwise his work would become "lifeless."[14] Then he went on the counter-offensive, suggesting that Barth was repressing "the wild animals" of Saint Anthony: mysticism and sexuality.[15] "In fact, you cannot come to terms with the entire nature of emotional thought. Just read the most recent investigations into the psychology of thinking in which the sizeable emotional component is increasingly recognized."[16] And two months later: "you have a way of presenting things that always feels like an attack and that provokes a counter-attack."[17] He advised Barth: "If your bluster is forcing you into a dangerous one-sidedness and your sub-conscious says to you: look out! There is still something of value in the thing you are repudiating; even there, God is to be found! Then I believe that this might be valuable and God's voice might resound even here. . . . Sexuality, your number one enemy, is accompanied by the danger of sexuality, which can also be an asset. In brief . . . : you will have to pursue the pendulum swing of your being to the point where it changes direction in order to catch up on the direction you fled.[18] I refuse to accept your constructing a contradistinction between being rich in God and taking seriously the thing that arises from the depths of your soul as an admonition."[19] One wonders whether Keller knew about Barth's recurring dreams.[20]

At the end of 1918 Barth published *The Epistle to the Romans*.[21] Dialectical theology was born. Keller was fascinated by the book, but also

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[13] Keller to Barth, 9 February 1915 and 18 February 1916 (KBA 9315.15 & KBA 9316.25).

[14] Keller to Barth, 15 February 1916 (KBA 9316.22).

[15] Ibid., Cf., Athanasius, *Vita Antonii*, written ca. 360 in Alexandria.

[16] Keller to Barth, 25 February1915, 3 (KBA 9315.21).

[17] Keller to Barth, 21 April 1915 (KBA 9315.46).

[18] Keller's premonition came true: while married to his wife Nelly, Barth began an extramarital affair with his colleague Charlotte von Kirschbaum, a striking parallel to Jung's affair with his colleague Toni Wolff. Incidentally, the Barths and the Jungs both had five children (as did the Kellers).

[19] Keller to Barth, 18 February 1916 (KBA 9316.25).

[20] Cf., Wolfgang Schildmann (theologian and psychologist), *Karl Barths Träume. Zur verborgenen Psychodynamik seines Werkes*, Zurich, TVZ (Theologischer Verlag Zurich) 2006, pp. 16 and 80. "The recurring dreams stubbornly dismissed as 'shadows' and 'falsities' by Barth plagued him for years and decades." As a theologian in his critique of experiential theology "he fights his feeling-toned shadow as a betrayal of God." (*Karl Barths Träume)*.

[21] Karl Barth, *Der Römerbrief,* first edition published Christmas 1918, dated 1919, in GA Vol. 16, TVZ 1985.

irritated by it: "I studied it with some resistance to this theology's theses and conclusions, above all the unreasonably exaggerated notion of transcendence in the theology of the time, the rejection of experience and the ethical indifference. . . . Despite this, I owe this theology much gratitude. It rescued me once and for all from intermixing theology with other things and opened to me once again the meaning of the transcendent in the gospel of Jesus Christ. A great freedom took effect in me, which led me to the center of the proclamation of the gospel, to the fact that Jesus announces and freely gives his grace to the sinner in the God's name."[22] In 1931 Keller writes:

> Until now, continental theology has adhered fundamentally to transcendence and immanence in equal proportion. . . . Dialectical theology emphasizes transcendence with conscious exclusivity and decisively rejects the immanence encountered in a theology of consciousness, in a theology of experience, in mysticism, and in pantheism. God is in heaven and man is on earth. He is the completely other-worldly, hidden, inaccessible. He is . . . the *entirely other*. From here on, the doctrine of immanence is attacked as a fraudulent appropriation of divine knowledge, as a confusion of the highest aspiration of human inner life with the divine itself, as an unseemly familiarity of man with his maker . . . , as the religious man's self-deception who believes he has found the most High God in his internal world and who is in fact only retrieving a pale imitation of his own life.[23]

In spite of his reservations, Keller saw in Barth the prophet he had hoped for.[24]

In contrast to Jung, Barth rejected mysticism and pietism. For Barth, it is not man who is the "connecting factor" but God, the "completely Other."[25] According to Barth there is only *one* way to bridge the infinite distance—that of God reaching out to man; he was founding a theology "beyond the domain of the psyche."[26] He wanted to be a "radical and

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[22] Keller, *Aus meinem Leben*, p. 57f.

[23] Keller, *Der Weg der dialektischen Theologie durch die kirchliche Welt*. Munich: Kaiser Verlag 1931, p. 31.

[24] See above I, 1a), p. 5.

[25] Cf., Paul F. de Quervain, *Psychoanalyse und dialektische Theologie. Zum Freud-Verständnis bei K. Barth, E. Thurneysen und P. Ricoeur*, Bern/Stuttgart/Wien, Huber 1977, p. 20.

[26] Thus Eberhard Busch, epilogue to Wolfgang Schildmann, *Was sind das für Zeichen*, Munich, Kaiser 1991, p. 193.

focused theologian" at a time, as he believed, when there was a danger of sinking into the nightmarish quagmire of the psychology of the unconscious'"[27] The biblical relationship with God, says Barth, cannot be equated with what the psychic deep-sea exploration of our time describes as libidinal gratification in a narrower or broader sense.[28] And even more pointedly: "The findings of psychological research are an "expression of narcissistic self-reflection,'" and individuation should be described as a "hopeless solipsism."[29] Jung, on the other hand, wrote to his Zofingian friend, Albert Oeri: "I wonder which devil Karl Barth (with his absolute God) worships in practice. It's very likely one of them has him by the collar."[30]

As an unconventional "Barthian," Keller was the first to promote the new theology in Great Britain, the United States, and France. Later he recalled: "Settling into this transcendental theology also now gave me the freedom to pursue my knowledge—particularly psychology—much more impartially and objectively."[31]

Like Jung, Barth came from the pious circles of Basel. Both their fathers had been theologians.[32] In 1923 Barth became a professor of theology in Germany. There seems to have been no direct contact between Barth and Jung. However, like Jung, Barth read Rudolf Otto's famous book *The Idea of the Holy*.[33] Barth's apparent openness to inner experiences and their exploitation in theological work is surprisingly clear.[34] He was also highly intuitive.[35] In his inner circle of confidants he did not deny his own psychological connections or "complexes."[36] Yet he had set himself against the liberals' theology of experience.[37] All the same, Barth's

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[27] Schildmann, *Karl Barths Träume*, p. 11.

[28] Ibid. p. 13. Schildmann is referring to a statement of Barth from 1920.

[29] Ibid., pp. 14 and 15.

[30] Jung to Albert Oeri, 4 January 1929, in *C. G. Jung: Letters I, 1906–1950*, sel. & ed. Gerhard Adler and Aniella Jaffe, tr. R. F. C. Hull. Princeton: Bollingen-Princeton University,1973 58. On Oeri see above I, 1b), footnote 47, p. 10. Jung, Oeri, and Barth were all Zofingian (Basel U.) fraternity brothers.

[31] Keller, *Aus meinem Leben*, 1940, p. 58.

[32] Barth's father, professor of theology in Bern, was more easy-going than Jung's father. On Jung and his father see above I, 1b), p. 9 and II "On the Letters," p. 107.

[33] "The idea of the holy" is also named the "numinosum" by Rudolf Otto in his eponymous book dated 1917. Barth possibly adopted the term "the 'completely other" for the mystery of God from Rudolf Otto, whereas Otto wrote of "the completely other thing" (see R. Otto, 28).

[34] Schildmann, *Karl Barths Träume*, p. 21.

[35] Ibid., p. 21.

[36] de Quervain, *Psychoanalyse und dialektische Theologie*, p. 24ff.

[37] Schildmann, *Karl Barths Träume*, p. 80.

theology includes a biographical residue in spite of its claimed rationality.[38] However, Barth's systematic neglect of the inner world of the psyche allowed the unconscious to accrue an oppositional tension towards consciousness, which led to an energetic damming up and in turn to recurring dreams.[39]

Both depth psychology and dialectical theology were "revolutionary movements" that vehemently set no store by peace and quiet. Since, in a certain respect, Barth shared depth psychology's critique of religion, he evidently believed that he had to distinguish himself from it all the more sharply.[40] His theology markedly lacks any impulse towards pastoral care, a fact that Dietrich Bonhoeffer,[41] who was close to Barth, had already bemoaned: "Sometimes it seemed to me as if pastoral care was where our work broke down. . . . But maybe it really is the end of our kind of Christianity that we fail here. We have learned to preach again, at least a very little bit, but pastoral care?"[42] Keller, however, was now situated midway in the Barth-Jung polarity.

c. Jung and Keller's Analysis of National Socialism

Adolf Hitler came to power early in 1933. When the new state moved to Nazify the Protestant Church, a small minority of Germany's Protestants amalgamated into the "Confessing Church," keen to maintain their spiritual independence. Karl Barth, then professor in Bonn, supported this move. He opposed political totalitarianism by way of Jesus Christ as the "sole word of God" to whom alone one should defer.[43] In 1935 he was forced to leave Germany. Keller, of the same mind as Barth, began to educate his contemporaries about National Socialism.[44] In consequence, he was banned from public appearances and speaking in Germany.

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[38] Ibid., p. 257.

[39] Ibid., p. 15f. Cf. above I, 3b), p. 68.

[40] de Quervain, *Psychoanalyse und dialektische Theologie*, p. 45.

[41] Dietrich Bonhoeffer (1906–1945), German theologian, member of the resistance, executed 1945.

[42] Bonhoeffer to Erwin Sutz, 28 February 1932, in *Dietrich Bonhoeffer Works*, vol. 11, English edition: Fortress Press 2012, translation by Brocker et al., pp. 96–99, quote p. 98. Cf. Eberhard Bethge, *Dietrich Bonhoeffer*, Munich, Kaiser 1967, p. 274.

[43] Karl Barth, *Texte zur Barmer Theologischen Erklärung* (31 May 1934), Zurich, TVZ, 2. ed. 2004, 1–5.

[44] For a thorough treatment of Keller's stance towards National Socialism, see M. Jehle-Wildberger, *Adolf Keller. Ecumenist, World Citizen, Philanthropist*, Eugene Oregon/Cambridge GRB, Wipf and Stock/Lutterworth Press, 2013, pp. 158–203 and pp. 214–228.

In the autumn of 1933 Keller lectured at Princeton Theological Seminary in the United States, and his book *Religion and Revolution*[45] evolved out of this tour. In it he claimed that National Socialism was a pseudo-religion, nourished by dark powers, and that Hitler was not only the political "Fuhrer" but also the "messiah" of the new religion. He appealed to deep-seated instincts and was a master of mass seduction. Also keeping Bolshevism in his sights, Keller wrote:

> The revolutions of the twentieth century have emerged, consciously or unconsciously, from a religious background; they can hardly escape being considered religious problems. . . . They have developed creeds for which millions are willing to suffer and to die. They have their Messiahs, apostles, and martyrs who inspire the masses with a feeling of adoration and with the hope of salvation and victory. They have adopted symbols—which have exercised a profound influence upon the collective imagination. . . . Bolshevism and Nationalism are new national religions hidden in political and social programs. . . . [46] The leaders exercise a veritable fascination on millions. . . . Christianity must struggle with . . . mysterious and demonic forces, clad in all the glamour of a new hope and a new vision. . . . "The beast from the abyss" is rising to rule the earth.[47]

"Nationalism and Communism," Keller continued, "are man-made religions set against a Christian faith based on God's revelation."[48] Two years later in 1935, in London, he declared that an "inner inferno" lurks inside modern man.[49] Two years after that in Switzerland he wrote, "Christianity knows that only God is a match for the demons. . . ."[50] Keller demonstrates a sagacity that only a few possessed in 1933 and the years following. He would not have possessed it, however, without Barth's vigorous theology and Jung's discovery of evil powers in the collective unconscious.

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[45] Keller, *Religion and Revolution. Problems of Contemporary Christianity on the European Scene*, New York/London/Edinburgh, Fleming H. Revell 1934.

[46] Ibid. p13f. English original.

[47] Ibid., p. 14.

[48] Ibid., pp. 107f.

[49] Keller, *Church and State on the European Continent*, [The Social Service/Beckley Lecture of 1935] London, Epworth Press 1936, 23. Keller is referring to *Réflexions sur la violence* by Georges Sorel.

[50] Keller, *Geist und Dämonie in der Geschichte*, in *Neue Schweizer Rundschau*, April 1937, IV. Jg., p. 728ff.

Nevertheless, the Swiss psychoanalyst Gustav Bally attacked Jung in 1933 for becoming president of the International General Medical Society for Psychotherapy, which, claimed Bally, acknowledged Hitler's *Mein Kampf* as an ideological principle. Further, he accused him of differentiating between Jewish and Germanic psychologies.[51] Bally referred to an article by Jung in the *Zentralblatt* of the *Medical Society*.[52] In it, he had written of the three thousand year old "cultural race" of the Jews, while the "Aryan unconscious" contained "tensions and creative nuclei . . . ."[53] "The Aryan unconscious has a higher potential than the Jewish; that is both the advantage and the disadvantage of a youthfulness not yet fully distanced from the barbarian." He claimed that Germanic man possessed a "creatively apprehensive soul. . . . Where was the tremendous tension and power before National Socialism?" Jung rejected the accusation of anti-Semitism.[54]

In his response to Bally he maintained that he had considered his becoming president of the International Society (not of the Nazi-conforming German national group) as a "human responsibility." With the weight of his "independent position" he would be able to stand up for his friends. The "oath of allegiance" to Hitler had had to appear only in the German edition of the *Zentralblatt für Psychotherapie*. He said he had been misled, yet "to protest is ridiculous—one would be protesting against an avalanche!"[55]

Aniela Jaffé, who was a Jew, reckoned that one could in good faith doubt whether Jung had acted correctly in sitting down "at one table" with the German doctors.[56] Also, she believed that he gave National Socialism "a certain chance" in 1933 and 1934. She stresses that he stood up for Jews, especially for doctors, but his reference to "Jewish difference"

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[51] Gustav Bally, *Deutschstämmige Psychotherapie*, in *NZZ*, Tuesday 27 February 1934, No. 343, morning edition, 2. Cf. Jung's theory of types.

[52] Jung, *The State of Psychotherapy Today*, here quoted from CW10, paras. 333–370, first published in *Zentralblatt für Psychotherapie und ihre Grenzgebiete,* VII/1, Leipzig 1934, 1–16). Cf., Ludwig Marcuse, *Mein Zwanzigstes Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt a. M., Fischer Bücherei 1968, 141ff., and letters 65 and 17, where articles by Wladimir Eliasberg against Jung are discussed.

[53] Jung, ibid., CW 10, para. 354.The word "race" was at this time not as loaded a term as it is today.

[54] Jung, ibid., para. 354. Many members of the Society were German Jews whom Jung wished to help. On this, see letter 44, in which the Jewish psychiatrist James Kirsch is mentioned, to whom he defends his presidency of the Society.

[55] Jung, *Zeitgenössisches*, in *NZZ*, 13 and 14 March 1934, Nos., 437 and 443; cf., Jung, *A Rejoinder to Dr. Bally*, in CW 10 paras. 10161034, para. 1023.

[56] Aniela Jaffé, *Aus Leben und Werkstatt*, p. 89.

should be regarded as a serious mistake.[57] Later Jung admitted that he had not been able to imagine "something as abysmal as this ever happening."[58] Jaffe was convinced "that Jung was neither a Nazi nor an anti-Semite despite his mistakes and errors."[59] Tina Keller regretted Jung's "lack of awareness of people and situations. I also wonder whether his lack . . . did not play a part in the misunderstandings and misjudgments around Dr. Jung's position concerning Nazi Germany? I feel he was misunderstood, but I also feel that he misunderstood the situation and then withdrew with a general feeling of being misunderstood."[60]

By 1936 at the latest, Jung denounced National Socialism unequivocally, seeing in Hitler the impact of Wotan, the Germanic "God of storm and intoxication"—a personified archetype exerting a "magical effect." Germany was a "land of spiritual catastrophe."[61] As early as 1918 he had warned of Germany: "The more the unconditional authority of the Christian worldview diminishes, the more audibly will the 'blond beast' stir in its subterranean prison and threaten us with an eruption with cataclysmic consequences."[62]

In 1937 while at Yale, he said:

> If people crowd together to form a mob, then the dynamisms of the collective man are let loose—beasts or demons that lie dormant in every person until he is part of a mob. Man in the mass sinks unconsciously to an inferior moral and intellectual level, to that level which is always there, below the threshold of consciousness, ready to break forth as soon as it is activated by the formation of a mass. . . . A gentle and reasonable being can be transformed into a maniac or a savage beast. . . . As a matter of fact we are constantly living on

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[57] Jaffé, *Aus Leben und Werkstatt*, p. 92. On Jung's theory of types, see C. G. Jung, "The Role of the Unconscious," CW 10, paras. 1–48, para. 18; originally published in 1918 in *Schweizerland. Monatshefte für Schweizer Art und Arbeit* IV/9 and 11/12, pp. 464–472 and pp. 548–558.

[58] Jaffé, *Aus Leben und Werkstatt*, p. 97. A confirmation of this is found in "Wotan," dated 1936, CW10, para. 371 where he denounces state totalitarianism and the persecution of Jews and Christians.

[59] Jaffé, ibid., 98. Aniela Jaffé, German Jewish emigrée, was analyzed by Jung without paying a fee.

[60] Tina Keller, *The Memoir of Tina Keller-Jenny* (ed. Wendy K. Swan), p. 75 (from 192 CMS, 1968).

[61] Jung, "Wotan," in CW 10, paras. 371—399, para. 373 and 391, originally in *Neue Schweizer Rundschau*, Neue Folge p. III/11, March 1936, 657–669. Cf. Susanne Heine, *Grundlagen der Religionspsychologie. Modelle und Methoden*, 286.

[62] Jung, "The Role of the Unconscious," 1918, CW 10, para. 17.

> the edge of a volcano. . . . It is certainly a good thing to preach reason and common sense but what if you have a lunatic asylum for an audience or a crowd in a collective frenzy?[63]

And further: "It is not very difficult to see that the powers of the underworld—not to say of hell— . . . are now creating a State slavery and a State prison. . . . This whole development is fate. . . . But one thing is certain—that modern man . . . has lost the protection of the ecclesiastical walls . . . and because of this loss, he has approached the zone of world-destroying and world-creating fire."[64]

Thus, by 1936 at the latest, Jung and Keller were in agreement in their analysis and denunciation of National Socialism. Yet while Jung mistrusted rationality and considered Christendom to be doomed, and believed that for this reason one could do nothing against "destiny"—Wotan was "always stronger"[65]—Keller promoted dialectical theology as a spiritual bulwark. Even in 1914 he had spoken disapprovingly of the "deadening powers of blood and race."[66] In 1936 he wrote: "The present revolutions are building up a new world from below, from the soil, the blood, the race, from the instincts of man, from the imaginative passions of the subconsciousness."[67] As early as May 1933 the first refugees were seeking assistance from Keller, many of them Christians persecuted for having Jewish ancestors.

d. Jung and Keller's Writing on Psychology and Religion

After some persuasion Adolf Keller agreed to write a contribution entitled "Analytical Psychology and Research into Religion"[68] for the *Festschrift* celebrating Jung's sixtieth birthday in 1935. The essay, reproduced

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[63] Jung, CW11, para. 23–25.

[64] Ibid., paras. 83–84. Jung's emphases. According to Ulrich Hoerni, from then on Jung was no longer able to publish in Germany and was under surveillance at least from the start of the war, (3 January 2013). Cf. letters 9–11 on Keller and Jung's meeting with the American diplomat Allen Welsh Dulles in 1943.

[65] Jung, "Wotan," CW 10, paras. 371–399. Cf., Jung's stance during the first world war. I, 2c above, p. 33.

[66] Keller in A. Keller, W. E. Cuendet, *Wir wollen sein ein einzig Volk von Brüdern. Vaterländische Ansprachen in einem gemeinsamen deutsch- und welschschweizerischen Gottesdienst* on 9 September 1914 in St. Peter's church, Zurich, Orell Füssli 1914, pp. 7ff. English original.

[67] Keller, *Church and State on the European Continent*, p. 39.

[68] Keller, *Analytische Psychologie und Religionsforschung*, in *Die Kulturelle Bedeutung der komplexen Psychologie, Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von C. G. Jung* (published by

in its entirety in the appendix, demonstrates that he had understood Jung well. In1937 Jung considered the theme of *Psychology and Religion* in the Terry Lectures at Yale.[69] Both texts are exceptionally significant for the context of the early debate between psychology and theology. In his article Keller constantly refers to Jung's early writing, although apart from one instance, he does not provide details of these references.[70] Later, in the letters, he refers several times to the Terry lectures. Conversely, Jung does not respond to Keller's article in his lectures, at least not in any verifiable way, although he does refer in general to Protestant theology. But before he left for Yale he said to Keller on his departure for the United States, "See you in America"—where they did indeed meet.[71]

The first and last sentences from Keller's essay read:

> As one crosses the threshold of C. G. Jung's home, the visitor is arrested by a Latin inscription carved in stone on the door lintel; it is from the Delphic oracle: vocatus atque non vocatus deus aderit. [72] If one penetrates further into Jung's intellectual dwelling, one wonders how this inscription should be translated: Bidden or unbidden God is present, or should it be *a* God or *the* God or the divine? [73]
>
> Pastoral care will become a better guide to salvation and life if it strives for both: a better understanding not only of God but of the soul as well.[74]

Psychological Club Zurich), Berlin, Verlag Julius Springer 1935, pp. 271–297 (*Analytische Psychologie und Religionsforschung*). See appendix.

[69] Jung, C .G. (1970). *Psychology and Religion: West and East, Collected Works of C. G. Jung*, Volume 11, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press

[70] Keller quotes in *Analytische Psychologie und Religionsforschung* from Jung's *Die Beziehungen der Psychotherapie zur Seelsorge*, Zurich Rascher 1932, CW 11, paras. 539—552. Cf., appendix

[71] Jung to Keller, 16 September 1937 (ETH library, Zurich Hs 1056: 6291). See letters 6 and 7 below.

[72] Vocatus atque non vocatus deus aderit (Latin)—bidden or not, God is present. Cf. Otto Haendler, professor of theology, who quoted from Adolf Keller's commentary on the inscription above Jung's door and comments: "It must have been completely in Jung's mind that every translation is possible and should be possible, in the sense of a communio religiosorum": Haendler, *Psychologie und Religion von Sigmund Freud bis zur Gegenwart*, in Scharfenberg, Joachim and Winkler, Klaus (Eds.), *Otto Haendler: Tiefenpsychologie, Theologie und Seelsorge*, Gottingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1971, p. 55. On Haendler, see letter 64 and II "On the Letters," p. 113. Cf. appendix, footnotes 2 and 3.

[73] Keller, *Analytische Psychologie und Religionsforschung*. Keller's emphases. See appendix, footnote 3.

[74] Ibid., appendix p. 281.

While at Yale Jung wished to demonstrate what psychology had to do with religion.[75] He claimed to be an empiricist who maintained a phenomenological stance, but who wished also to combine experience with reflection. He never preached his faith but if ever asked about it, he would confess it. "If asked I shall certainly stand by my convictions, but these do not go beyond what I consider to be my actual knowledge."[76] His starting point was "the psychology of the *homo religiosus*."[77] Jung claimed that it was a fact "that certain ideas exist almost everywhere and at all times. . . . They are not made by the individual, they just happen to him—they even force themselves upon his consciousness. . . . Religion, as the Latin word denotes, is a careful and scrupulous observation of what Rudolf Otto aptly termed the *numinosum*, that is, a dynamic existence or effect not caused by an arbitrary act of will. . . . At all events, religious teaching as well as the *consensus gentium*[78] always and everywhere explain this experience as being due to a cause external to the individual."[79] Every religion is founded "on the experience of the numinosum."[80] "It is true that our religion speaks of an immortal soul; but it has very few kind words to say for the human psyche as such."[81] "My psychological experience has shown time and again that certain contents issue from a psyche that is more complete than consciousness."[82]

Although the church recognizes that some dreams come from God, it "is disinclined, and even averse, to any serious engagement with dreams," although it admits that some may contain an unmediated revelation.[83] He claimed that an old suspicion existed against everything connected with the unconscious.[84] Both churches, indeed "religion" as ordinarily understood, seem intent on replacing "*immediate experience*" with "a substitute" for it: the Catholic Church with the institution of absolute authority, the Protestant church by emphasizing faith in the message of the

[75] Jung, *Psychology and Religion* [1937] CW 11 (New Haven, Yale U. P., 1938).

[76] Ibid., para. 79.

[77] Ibid., para.11.

[78] *Consensus gentium* (Latin) = consensus of the people. See paras. 4 and Analytical Psychology and Religious Research 6.

[79] Jung, *Psychology and Religion*, paras. 5–6.

[80] Ibid., para. 9. Cf. Rudolf Otto, *The Idea of the Holy* (re the *numinosum*) and above I, 3b), p. 71 and footnote 33, p. 71.

[81] Jung, *Psychology and Religion*, para. 28.

[82] Ibid., para. 69.

[83] Ibid., para. 32. This is directed at Barth and his closest followers, among others.

[84] Ibid., para. 28 Directed at the traditional orthodoxy of both churches.

gospel.[85] Yet Protestant ministers have had less psychological aptitude than priests.[86]

Protestantism had reinforced the authority of the Bible as a substitute for the lost authority of the church. But, as history showed, one could interpret biblical passages in different ways. Further, in the wake of the so-called scientific enlightenment,[87] great numbers of educated people had either left the church or had become fundamentally indifferent to it. If they had all been hard-nosed rationalists, they could have recovered from the loss. But many of them are religious people who nonetheless are incapable of accepting existing forms of belief. If this were not true, one could not explain the remarkable impact of the Buchman's Oxford Movement on more or less educated Protestant circles.[88] After the Reformation dismantled the bounds of dogma, and ritual lost the authority of its efficacy, man was exposed to his inner experiences without the protection and the leadership of dogma and ritual, which are the quintessence of both Christian and pagan religious experience.[89]

> The Protestant is left to God alone. For him there is no confession, no absolution, no possibility of an expiatory *opus divinum*.[90] He has to digest his sins by himself; and, because the absence of a suitable ritual has put it beyond his reach, he is none too sure of divine grace. . . . But, for this very reason, the Protestant has a unique chance to make himself conscious of sin to a degree that is hardly possible for a Catholic mentality. . . . Conscience, and particularly a bad conscience, can be a gift from Heaven, a veritable grace if used in the interests of the higher self-criticism. . . . If a Protestant survives the complete loss of his church and still remains a Protestant . . . he has a unique spiritual opportunity for immediate religious experience.[91]

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[85] Ibid., para.75. Jung's emphasis. "The message of the gospel"=grace. Jung does not seem to have been aware that the Roman Catholic Church is familiar with the phenomenon of "private revelation" and permits this to a certain degree (e.g., Bernadette Soubirons' vision in Lourdes).

[86] Ibid., para. 76.

[87] I.e., the historical-critical approach to the Bible advocated by liberal theologians including Keller and Barth, cf., Jung's Zofingian lectures, see above I, 1b), p. 12.

[88] Jung, *Psychology and Religion*, para.34 Jung's emphases. On Buchman and the Kellers, see above I, 2i), p. 61.

[89] Ibid., para. 32

[90] *Opus divinum* (Latin)=the work of God, "holy action" or the sacraments.

[91] Jung, *Psychology and Religion*, para. 86. Jung saw himself as one such "Protestant."

This "individual experience, by its very poverty, is immediate life, the warm red blood pulsating today. It is more convincing to a seeker after truth than the best tradition."[92]

Jung asserted that his remarks did not prove the existence of God, but only "the "existence of an archetypal God-image, which to my mind is the most we can assert about God psychologically."[93] Frequently the unconscious produces the symbolism of "quaternity,"[94] which signifies the inclusion of the devil in the Christian concept of the trinity.[95] "Since a God who is identical with individual man is an exceedingly complex assumption bordering on heresy, the 'God within' also presents a dogmatic difficulty. But the quaternity as produced by the modern psyche points directly not only to the God within, but to the identity of God and man."[96]

Man is burdened with "sin," but "always has the chance to repent."[97] Then he will "have done something real for the world": he will then have "succeeded in shouldering at least an infinitesimal part at least of the gigantic, unsolved social problems of our day."[98] Jung was expressly addressing not the "beati possidentes"[99] of the Christian faith, but "those many people for whom the light has gone out, the mystery has faded, and God is dead."[100]

The penultimate paragraph of Jung's lectures at Yale includes the following affirmations.

> Religious experience is absolute; it cannot be disputed. . . . The one who has it possesses a great treasure, a thing that has become for him a source of life, meaning, and beauty. . . . He has *pistis*[101] and peace. . . . Nobody can know what the ultimate things are. We must therefore take them as we experience them. And if such experience

[92] Ibid., para. 88. Jung is drawing on his own inner encounters during the crisis years and afterward.

[93] Ibid., para. 58.

[94] Quaternity = fourness, from quater (Latin) = four.

[95] Jung, *Psychology and Religion*, paras.103–104, 107. Elsewhere, as here in para.107, Jung adds instead of the devil the feminine element (the Virgin Mary or the Mother of God) to the trinity (Father, Son, and Holy Ghost) On the trinity labeled by Jung as "masculine," see Jung, "Introduction to the Religious and Psychological Problems of Alchemy," in *Psychology and Alchemy*, CW 12, para. 25, written in 1943.

[96] Jung, *Psychology and Religion*, para.105.Jung knows that this is a daring conjecture. Cf., above, the minutes of the Association of Analytical Psychology, 2 February 1918.

[97] Jung, *Psychology and Religion*, para. 131.

[98] Ibid., para. 140.

[99] Beati possidentes (Latin) = blessed are those who possess; as cited in para.148.

[100] Ibid., para.148.

[101] *Pistis* (Greek) = faith.

> helps to make life healthier, more beautiful, more complete and more satisfactory to yourself and to those you love, you may safely say: "This was the grace of God."[102]

Jung had lost the faith of his fathers, yet he confessed his own personal religiosity. He also still considered himself a Protestant.[103] It is interesting that he makes use of traditional Christian terms such as "sin" and "grace." Keller objected to Jung's confining himself to unmediated experience as well as to his understanding of grace, of "quaternity," and the thesis of the identity of God with man. He certainly took issue with Jung's opinion that one always had the chance to "repent" of sin.[104] Keller wrote in his birthday article of 1935, "but there is an individuation that is hubris, as well as one that is humility and an awareness of one's own limitations."[105]

e. The Situation at the Start of the Correspondence in Their Later Years

The Second World War broke out on 1 September 1939. Keller returned to his role of pastor, saying[106] that the times are murky and the human soul is at risk of becoming somber and losing heart: "A powerful light is required to withstand this powerful darkness."[107] "The Hades of the human heart is being unleashed. . . . This collective underworld . . . helps us understand more deeply why the Bible speaks of a power of evil." "Only One descended to Hades and was not ensnared there. . . . Only One was more powerful in the underworld than Hades itself: Jesus Christ."[108] Keller said that people were trembling at the foot of the lighthouse while the massed breakers of darkness, storm, and isolation crashed down onto them. But "suddenly the bright light shines far and wide, radiating down from the invisible lantern on the tower high above. . . ."[109] In these sentences one finds a confluence of C. G. Jung's knowledge of the abysmal in the unconscious and Karl Barth's dialectical theology.

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[102] Jung, *Psychology and Religion*, para. 167.

[103] His concept is fundamentally "a religious psychology" claims Susanne Heine, *Grundlagen der Religionspsychologie*, p. 267.

[104] Jung, *Psychology and Religion*, para.131. See above I, 3d), p. 77.

[105] Keller, *Analytische Psychologie und Religionsforschung,* (p. 287), appendix.

[106] Keller, *Am Fusse des Leuchtturms . . .* , Zurich, Wanderer Verlag 1940. The book goes back to Keller's pastoral texts in the *Bund* newspaper.

[107] Ibid., p. 5.

[108] Ibid., pp. 95–97.

[109] Ibid., p. 208.

At this point, twenty years after the publication of *The Epistle to the Romans*, Jung and Barth were still giving each other a wide berth, even when Jung was guest lecturer at the University of Basel in 1944. Only one brief written exchange took place between them, when in 1946 Barth received a letter from a German by the name of H. Lehmann who claimed that Jung had attacked Pastor Martin Niemöller,[110] one of the most significant figures in the German church's resistance to Hitler. Barth forwarded this letter to Jung, marking it "for information," to which Jung replied: "Dear Colleague, Please accept my thanks for kindly sending me the letter from Dr. Lehmann. I have written to this gentleman directly. The article in *Le Soir* is a rather fantastical elaboration of my essay in the *Neuen Schweizer Rundschau,* brimming with inaccuracies. . . . With collegial esteem, your devoted, C. G. Jung."[111]

Tina Keller writes of Jung: "A great man's single-mindedness in one direction brings with it the neglect of other fields. The attention remains focused to one area in order that a special task be accomplished."[112] The same was true of Barth: he tended towards the "schizoid thinking type" who devalues feelings in favor of rationality.[113] So, were they similar characters merely with opposite preferences? Both were sensitive, perhaps tending towards sarcasm because of that. Barth showed this side towards theological opponents, while Jung, according to Tina Keller, "could be so sarcastic. He made fun of people in an unfeeling way."[114] Jaffé believes that Jung admitted as much, and claimed that "only the wounded doctor can heal. . . ."[115] And Keller admitted to Barth: "firstly I must confess to you that I easily feel attacked."[116]

Despite all the insistence on their own positions, there were indications that Barth and Jung in fact took very good note of each other. Indeed, even more significantly, in his old age Barth said that dreams should be

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[110] Martin Niemöller (1892–1984), pastor in Dahlem, Berlin, was imprisoned in 1937 until the end of the war.

[111] Lehmann to Barth, 25. 1. 1946 (KBA = Karl Barth archive 9346.107) and Jung to Barth, 2. 2. 1946 (KBA 9346.125), extracts kindly made available by Dr. H. A. Drewes.

[112] Tina Keller, *The Memoir of Tina Keller* (ed. Wendy Swan), p. 75. English original.

[113] Schildmann, *Karl Barths Träume*, p. 255.

[114] *The Memoir of Tina Keller*, p. 16. Her (Tina's) husband, on the other hand, she claims was a 'good man.'"

[115] Jaffé, *Aus Leben und Werkstatt von C. G. Jung*, p. 127. Cf., C. G. Jung: *Grundlegende Fragen der Psychotherapie*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1951, where Jung refers to the centaur Chiron of Greek mythology. CW 16, 10 entitled *General Problems of Psychotherapy.*

[116] Keller to Barth, 23 April 1915 (KBA 9315.47).

taken seriously,[117] and even as early as 1929 he had conceded the possibility of the "inner experience of God," without which one would have to "deny the Holy Ghost."[118] Keller also stressed that without this experience, dialectical theology "would have nothing to say."[119] Conversely Jung sought dialogue with theologians, but criticized dialectical theology for being extraverted:[120] "I have never succeeded in making any sort of contact whatever with this theology."[121] Like Keller, as a young man Jung had longed for a prophet who would revive religion, but he did not find this in Barth.[122] Yet for Jung, God was a powerful God, and the same was true for Barth: man must be possessed by religious truth. However, he insisted upon the view that man's *behavior* is determined by an inner experience of God, not by belief in an external God.[123] Jung and Barth's deepest commonality was the certainty of God. For Jung, God was "one of the most certain and immediate of experiences," and Barth, by his own admission, had "never doubted God."[124]

At the end of 1940 Keller wrote that now he looked back at the psychoanalytic movement from a great distance. It had been a time when the meaning of life had been found too much only in liberation and in individuation. All the same, "going into this world of the unconscious had been tremendously significant" for him.[125] For many years he had believed in the possibility of a synthesis between analysis and Christian theology, but in recent years Jungian analysis had departed too markedly from biblical teaching for him to be able to advocate it any longer. For many Club members psychoanalysis had become a statement of faith. For him, it had always remained a method.[126] In 1943 Jung wrote: "But if the soul no longer has any part to play, religious life congeals into externals. . . . It would be blasphemy to assert that God can manifest himself everywhere save only in the human soul. . . . [Yet] It would be going perhaps too far

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[117] Schildmann, *Karl Barths Träume*, p. 243. As a pensioner, Barth often related his dreams while teaching! (Frank Jehle, verbal communication.)

[118] Ibid., p. 275.

[119] Keller, *Analytische Psychologie und Religionsforschung*, Appendix, p. 247.

[120] Schildmann, *Karl Barths Träume,* p. 263.

[121] Jung to Walter Uhsadel (1900–1985), professor of practical theology at the University of Tubingen, 12 July 1947, in C. G. Jung , *Letters*, I, p. 471.

[122] See above I, 1b).

[123] Schildmann, *Karl Barths Träume*, p. 266. Schildmann's emphasis.

[124] Ibid., p. 268. Cf. Jung, *MDR,* p. 80. Re Barth cf., Eberhard Busch, *Glaubensheiterkeit*, Neukirchen-Vluyn, Neukirchener Verlag 1986, p. 39.

[125] Keller, *Aus meinem Leben,* p. 61.

[126] Ibid., p. 62f.

to speak of an affinity [between God and the soul]."[127] "I therefore plead for tolerance [from theology]."[128] For the analytic patient "'justification by works' is required; for 'justification by faith' alone has remained an empty sound for him as for so many others."[129]

These then are Jung and Keller's perspectives at the start of their correspondence in older age. They did not alter much in the period between the wars. Now, however, after 1940, individual psychiatrists were beginning to turn to theology, among them Alphonse Maeder,[130] one-time associate of Jung, and conversely some theologians were turning to psychology, such as Otto Haendler, Professor of Practical Theology in East Berlin and after 1950 an important Protestant spokesman in favor of merging theology and psychology.[131] Hans Schär,[132] the Bern Theology Professor, a friend of Jung's, should also be mentioned here, but above all Eduard Thurneysen,[133] Barth's closest friend. Jung wished to read Thurneysen's

[127] Jung, "Introduction to the Religious and Psychological Problems of Alchemy," in *Psychology and Alchemy*, CW 12, Princeton, 1944, para. 11.

[128] Jung, ibid., para. 21.

[129] Ibid., para. 37. With this, Jung is rejecting the central message of the Reformation, i.e., the emphasis on the grace of God and the concomitant repudiation of "good works" as a way to salvation. There is no real difference on this point in Protestant or Catholic theology. The principle of "sola gratia" (lat.: through grace alone) distinguishes in part the theological system of Thomas Aquinas. Cf. footnote I, 471 above.

[130] Alphonse Maeder, *Wege zur seelischen Heilung. Kurze Psychotherapie aus der Praxis des Nervenarztes*, Zurich, Rascher 1945. Maeder, first president of *the* Analytical Association, wrote: "I came to the conclusion that man alone cannot redeem himself" (p. 23). In many of his patients he observed "a positive, helpful effect of belief" (pp. 38 and 218ff.). One of his patients was Emil Brunner; see Frank Jehle, *Emil Brunner*, p. 380. On Maeder, see above I, 2b), p. 22.

[131] Otto Haendler, *Grundriss der Praktischen Theologie*, Berlin, Töpelmann 1957. While he insisted that "care of the soul" was a "specialized proclamation"(315ff.), he argued more clearly than Keller that "Christianity and the church have the challenge of studying and engaging with the insights of depth psychology." Psychology and theology are of equal merit for Haendler. Cf. letter 64.

[132] Hans Schär, *Religion und Seele in der Psychologie C. G. Jungs*. Zurich, Rascher, 1946, and *Erlösungsvorstellungen und ihre psychologischen Aspekte*. Zurich, Rascher, 1950.

[133] Eduard Thurneysen (minister at Basel cathedral and professor of practical theology at the university), *Die Lehre von der Seelsorge*, 7th ed. Zurich, TVZ, 1994 (1st ed. 1946). Thurneysen describes psychology as an "auxiliary science" and emphasizes: "Pastoral care is and remains the proclamation of the Word to the individual" (p. 174f.). He warns against the deification of man's inner nature and thus of man himself" (pp. 191, 184). But, to speak the "word of forgiveness" to man, one must have at one's disposal an exact methodological and comprehensive knowledge of his psychic state. One can learn from Jung how religion as a psychic structure emerges from the deepest energies of man's inner nature (p. 191). "Pastoral care . . . wherever possible should work in conjunction with the psychiatrist" (p. 178). Thurneysen came to conclusions similar to Keller's, albeit only decades later. Cf. Martin Jochheim, *Seelsorge und Psychotherapie*, p. 104.

book on pastoral care, but before he did so, he wrote to a theologian friend:

> It would indeed be a great surprise to me if anything at all should come out of dialectical theology that might be of practical interest to human beings. I have never succeeded in making any contact whatsoever with this theology, and it has always remained dark to me what the dialogue is supposed to consist of. To me it seems completely absent. I have more contacts with the opponents of dialectical theology and also with Catholic theologians, whom I find especially interesting. I have dabbled a bit with the Church Fathers, more particularly the heresiologists. My medical experience has increasingly compelled me to come to terms with Christian symbolism and here the Church Fathers were a great help.[134]

In 1947 Keller was offered the opportunity—possibly at Jung's invitation—to lecture at the Club on dialectical theology, hence on Karl Barth and the Zurich-based theologian Emil Brunner.[135] He adopted an objective tone. Much to Keller's gratification, Barth had revised his thesis of God as the "completely Other," now incorporating Jesus Christ in whom God draws near to man. An unabridged summary of the talk follows below.

> In his "*Psychology of the Transference*" Jung described the dogmatic formulations of the Christian church's fundamental truths as an almost complete expression of inner experience. Thus, it is fitting briefly to examine some of the concerns of the most contemporaneous Protestant dogmatic theology. This is undertaken in neither a critical nor polemical manner, but seeks to be a contribution to the diversity of aspects of reality and their meanings, as they arise simultaneously from different standpoints.
>
> Dialectical theology should firstly be understood as a reaction against the formal scholasticism of substantial forms, as well as against a pure rationalization of the religious phenomenon and its

[134] Jung to Walter Uhsadel, 12 July 1947, in C. G. Jung *Letters* I, p.471. According to the theologian Paul Tillich, who was a friend of Keller, Barth saved Germany from paganization; in Schüssler/Sturm, *Paul Tillich. Leben—Werk—Wirkung*, 2007, p. 17); heresiologist = researcher into heresies.

[135] Keller, "Das Anliegen der Dialektischen Theologie," lecture given 12 January 1947, author's summary, from *Annual Report of the Psychological Club 1946/47*, pp. 29f. Zurich: Buchdruckerei Fluntern Zurich. On Brunner, see Frank Jehle, *Emil Brunner.* Cf. letters 19–22 below.

reduction to the elements of purely subjective experience. Its main concerns are as follows:

1 It knows that God does not draw near to man on the terms of his effort of thought nor in the sentimental ecstasy of his soul, but in the mystery of a real *encounter.* The church calls this mystery "revelation." We find such an encounter in Jacob's wrestling with the angel, with the prophets, with Jesus Christ, Paul, Pascal et al., who unexpectedly found themselves in the grip of such a confrontation. Thus, dialectical theology is concerned to ground the truth of religion on the existential reality of such an encounter.
2 Dialectical theology stresses that in this encounter, it is God and not man who has the preeminence or who takes the lead. Therefore dialectical theology is concerned to differentiate between the *ratio essendi* and the *ratio cognoscendi* in Christian faith, that is, not to confuse or identify the psychological process of religious experience with the ontological or metaphysical origin of this experience which is affirmed in the confession of faith. (A philosophical parallel can be seen in contemporary existential philosophy where the emphasis is also on being, instead of on consciousness as it was formerly.)
3 This theology seeks to preserve for religious experience and thought the character of an ongoing encounter, of a call and an inescapable response. The Christian religion thus becomes a conversation. That is the dialectical nature of this theology, with its concern to see and acknowledge first and foremost the tension, the contradistinctions between God and man, instead of surrendering from the outset to the concept of identification-as-unity in Indian thought and to the ontological system of the Greek mind.
4 Thus Christian personalism is explained, finding its strongest expression in the revelation of Christ and in the infinite value of the soul. In the highest sense it is a question of an I-Thou relationship, which alone makes faith and the feeling of responsibility possible, thus the experience of guilt and grace as well as prayer. In this way, the encounter is also understood as a call through which the personality is conceived as the most valuable thing, as is the community in which the personality can fully develop alongside others and be responsibly made whole. The word: "render

unto Caesar what is Caesar's" etc.[136] leaves unresolved how other claims arising from society and psychology are to be satisfied. Above all, in this personal call Christendom's responsibility for the world is declared, being confined not only to pure knowledge or research, nor taking comfort in aesthetic satisfaction, but enjoining one to ethical action in the community.

5 In this, neither the world, psychology, ethics, nor scholarship is made into an absolute and thus demonized. "The world passeth away and the lusts thereof."[137] By Jesus' reference to the fact that his kingdom is not of this world,[138] this theology acquires the eschatological perspective that guarantees it, in view of the victory of Christ, an infinite tension and complete inner independence from the world without crippling it with empty hopes in its affairs.[139]

Being fully aware of the significance of both Karl Barth and C. G. Jung, Keller wanted the theology of the one and the psychology of the other to mutually enrich each other. This was the focus of the correspondence that he initiated with Jung in later life. He was predisposed to do so since he had a sympathetic regard for both Barth's theology and Jungian psychology, while at the same time maintaining a certain distance towards each one.

[136] Cf. Matthew. 22:21 and parallels.

[137] Cf. 1. John 2:17.

[138] Cf. John 18:36.

[139] Keller is referring to the other most significant advocate of dialectical theology after Barth, the Zurich professor (and friend) Emil Brunner, especially to his post-doctoral text *Erlebnis, Erkenntnis und Glaube*, Tubingen, Mohr, 1921, and the book *Wahrheit als Begegnung*, Berlin, Furche, 1938.

Part II

The Correspondence between Jung and Keller

On the Letters

This correspondence between Jung and Keller dates for the most part from the years 1943–1958. In 1943 Keller was seventy-one years old, and Jung sixty-eight, making this a correspondence from their older years. The majority of letters written before this period are lost, so it is fortunate that Jung's important letter to Keller of 1915 has survived as letter 1 below.[1] The correspondence comprises eighty-one letters in total. Five of Jung's thirty-four letters to Keller have already been published in the collection entitled *C. G. Jung Letters*,[2] thus a further twenty-nine letters are added in this publication. The forty-seven letters from Keller are without exception published here for the first time.[3] Starting with a letter from Jung dated 1930, the letters in Part II are reproduced in full in chronological

[1] On letter 1, see above I, 2d), p. 36.

[2] Jung to Keller, 20 March 1951, 26 March 1951, 25 February 1955, August 1956 (no day specified), and September 1956 (no day specified), all in *C. G. Jung: Letters* II, op. cit., pp. 9, 12, 229, 322, 330. The first two letters concern theological points of contention, the third concerns an article about Jung in *Time* and the state of the world; in the fourth Jung is seeking a hearing among Protestant theologians, and the fifth concerns Jung's book *Answer to Job*. All five letters are addressed to Keller in Los Angeles, where he used to spend the winter months. Three of Jung's 34 letters (8, 38, and 40) were written for Jung by his secretary Marie-Jeanne Schmid and one (23) by a member of the Club.

[3] There are some quotations from Keller and Jung's letters in M. Jehle Wildberger, *Adolf Keller*, pp. 244–245. One (44) of the forty-seven letters by Keller was written for him, a second (11) is sent to several university professors, including Jung, a third (22) to Jürg Fierz, a fourth (27) to the editors of *Weltwoche* and a fifth (67) to Aniela Jaffé. Thus, forty-four letters are sent to Jung personally.

order. Sadly, several letters dated after 1943 also do not survive, creating a caesura between 1946 and 1948, with the most significant letters being written in 1951. The correspondence continues with long gaps, becoming more prolific once again from 1955 and ending following Keller's stroke early in 1958. It documents a process of rapprochement in their later years.

By 1943, the middle of the war, Jung and Keller were both world-famous personalities. The prelude to that year's correspondence consists of three letters regarding a highly sensitive meeting with the American diplomat, Allen Welsh Dulles. Subsequently three subject areas emerge: the first is a dream of Keller's concerning his personal relationship with Jung; the second is the "God" question stimulated by the same dream, but mostly by Jung's book *Answer to Job*; the third is the reception of analytical psychology in the United States, especially in California. Keller would have liked to discuss analytical (or complex) psychology more often, but they seldom actually did so. Theological questions dominate, particularly in connection with Jung's publication about the Old Testament Book of Job.

Both correspondents could look back on phenomenal life achievements, both having been pioneers in their respective domains. In 1941 Keller resigned his role as general secretary of the Federation of Swiss Protestant Churches, and in 1943 he began to relinquish to the next generation the centerpiece of his life's work, the Inter-Church Aid, and later also the Ecumenical Seminar. It was hard to give up the reins. Although like Jung he continued to be fully engaged with lectures, seminars, and publications, yet all the same thoughts of his mortality began to preoccupy him. In his letter of 21 May 1943 he described himself and Jung as "apprentices of death" and expressed the wish to see Jung more often.[4] In 1944 Jung broke his foot, an incident that was shortly followed by a heart attack. He was in the hospital for months and came close to death. During his convalescence he had a vision of dining in the Garden of Pomegranates (the Pardes Rimmonim), becoming both the wedding of Tiffereth and Malcuth and then, in the Heavenly Jerusalem, also becoming the Marriage of the Lamb, and finally witnessing the mystic marriage of Zeus and Hera.[5] In 1947 he wrote that "life, so-called, is a short episode between two great mysteries, which yet are one. I cannot mourn the dead. They endure, but we pass over."[6] A

[4] Keller to Jung, 21 May 1943, letter 12.

[5] Jung, *MDR*, p. 294.

[6] Jung to an unnamed person, 1947, *Letters* I, p. 483. In fact Jung did grieve very much for his wife Emma and Toni Wolff; see letters 46 and 63.

period of preparation, a type of retreat into the inner kingdom, had begun a long time before his death.[7]

Both Jung and Keller had needed to withdraw occasionally from the world long before this last stage in life. Jung had always described himself as an introvert.[8] Keller could be scintillating in company, possessing great charm and urbanity, yet even he needed his "piece of solitude."[9] "So just as I always returned to my innermost home, I also kept taking leave of myself."[10] Jung had his solitary tower in Bollingen where he increasingly engaged in contemplation in his later years. In 1943 Keller completed his book *American Christianity Today*[11] in the seclusion of Rilke's tower in Muzot above Siders.[12] From 1955 on he spent every winter in California, which was, as Tina Keller wrote, a refuge for him, a "Jerusalem," "a kind of retirement into solitude."[13]

In the significant letter of 12 May 1943[14] Keller once again took up the thread that had long engaged him regarding the relationship between psychology and theology. He suggested to Jung that they have a deep and intensive conversation about the existential questions of life and about their personal relationship. Things as yet unsaid should be expressed, misunderstandings cleared up. He wished to straighten things out with him or at least to come to a certain understanding, saying that some things had after all remained undigested. Jung had probably sometimes felt irritated by Keller's obstinate defense of Protestant theology. Conversely, it emerges in several letters that Keller had suffered "humiliations' in the circle around Jung from which he had not recovered. The general absence of Tina Keller's name in the correspondence points to the fact that her relationship with Jung was still ambivalent, even in old age. When she is mentioned in letters 45 and 69, it concerns conflicts. In letters 63, 68, and 80 she appears to be reconciled with Jung. Ultimately she knew that she owed her development into self-aware personhood substantially to Jung.

Keller was particularly interested in the perceptions of God held by Jung and himself. He wished to speak with Jung about this as an equal,

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[7] Jaffé, *C. G. Jung: Word and Image*, pp. 213–216.

[8] Jung in minutes of the Association of Analytical Psychology, 29 May 1916, p. 84.

[9] Keller to his daughter Doris, 6 June 1937 (Sulzberg Foundation archive, Winterthur, Doris Sträuli-Keller estate).

[10] Keller, "Auswanderung," in *Am Fusse des Leuchtturms*, pp. 33ff.

[11] Keller, *Amerikanisches Christentum heute*, Zollikon, Evangelischer Verlag 1943.

[12] The small castle then belonged to the Winterthur businessman and patron Werner Reinhart (1884–1951). See letters 12 and 37 below.

[13] Tina Keller, Grünes Heft, Manuscript 1973 (P. Keller's private archive).

[14] Keller to Jung, 21 May 1943, letter 12.

not as the pupil he had often been seen as in their earlier years, and definitely without the adoring attitudes from certain ladies in the Psychological Club.[15] He also did not approve of the fact that for some members Jung's teaching had become a substitute religion.[16] Jung in fact distanced himself from such adherents. He wrote to a Dutch colleague: "I can only hope and wish that no-one becomes 'Jungian'. . . . I proclaim no cut-and-dried doctrine and I abhor 'blind adherents.'"[17] In the letter of May 1943 Keller expressly calls Jung a 'friend,' since he had played a fateful part in both his own life and his wife's. Jung had attached a text on the Holy Spirit[18] to his letter to Keller of January 1943, but then allowed five months to pass before he replied to either of Keller's letters, unless other letters have been lost. Reading between the lines, one infers that he was not all that keen on closer contact with Keller.

Jung's correspondence with the English Dominican, Victor White, twenty-seven years his junior, presents a very different picture.[19] This spans almost the identical period of 1945 to 1960 and comprises 150 letters, almost double that of the Jung/Keller correspondence. However, even in this case it was not Jung who took the initiative. White declared himself to be a fervent admirer of Jung and attached four articles he had written on analytical psychology. [20] In return Jung responded enthusiastically:

> What a pity that you live in England and that I have you not at my elbow, when I am blundering in the wide field of theological knowledge. . . . You are to me a white raven inasmuch as you are the only

[15] Keller to Jung, 6 February 1951, letter 25.

[16] Keller, *Aus meinem Leben*, p. 62f.

[17] Jung to Dr. J. H. van der Hoop, 14 January 1946, *Letters* I, p. 405.

[18] This possibly relates to Jung's lecture to the Psychological Club on 5 October 1940: "Zur Psychologie der Trinitätsidee," cf. *Eranos Yearbook*. 1940/41, pp. 31–64, Zurich 1942 (revised in 1948 as "A Psychological Approach to the Dogma of the Trinity;" CW 11). See letter 10.

[19] Victor Francis White (1902–1960), son and grandson of Anglican priests, studied theology at Catholic Institutes and entered the Dominican order, taught dogmatics and church history at the Blackfriars Institute (the Dominicans wear black robes over white habits) in Oxford. In 1940 White began to read Jung's writings. He sought a synthesis of traditional Catholic faith and modern scholarship, which he believed he was able to find in Jungian psychology. This aroused the mistrust of his superiors in the Order and led eventually to the withdrawal of the Church's permission to teach.

[20] Two years after the start of the correspondence White wrote to Jung: "Your letter, which arrived on Christmas Eve, was the very best of my Christmas presents. I am simply thrilled to hear of your Giant's gift of the new, big and beautiful seagoing craft." 27 December 1947. Cf., C. G. Jung and Victor White, *The Jung-White Letters*, ed. Ann Conrad Lammers and Adrian Cunningham, Philemon Series (London and New York: Routledge 2007), p. 106.

> theologian I know of who has really understood something of what the problem of psychology in our present world means. . . . I would need some solid theological help. I realise that it can come only from the catholic side, as the *sola fide* standpoint of the Protestant has lost the tradition of the doctrine too much to be useful in disentangling the knots in the empirical material.[21]

Jung still had in mind his father's dull, devout theology as well as the rationally-oriented liberal theology that was dominant in his student years. He rejected both of these theological trends.[22] His relationship with the Protestant church was still troubled. He had only limited knowledge of the newer theological developments in Protestantism and ecumenism, yet he still regarded himself as a Protestant, and even wished to save Protestantism.[23] However, he felt strongly attracted to the dogma and symbols of the Catholic Church, particularly to Mariology.

The letters between Jung and White are substantially concerned with dreams, philosophy, and theology, especially with Thomas Aquinas, White's great role model. However, the central question of the understanding of God and Christ is hardly touched upon. White avoided the subject, presumably because Jung intimated that he rejected metaphysical arguments as defined by the Catholic Church. White also rarely ever asked critical questions.[24] In 1952 Jung wrote the foreword to White's *God and the Unconscious*.[25] He repeatedly invited him to Zurich and even for a vacation in Bollingen. Yet this is not by any means a conversation between equals: not until Jung's book *Answer to Job* did White first dare to voice any clear critique.

Like White, Keller was familiar with all of Jung's significant works, but unlike White he did not restrict himself to theological knowledge in a narrow sense, being predominantly engaged in ecumenical and humanitarian work. But he was also an outstandingly well- educated theologian who read Protestant theologians such as Paul Tillich, Rudolf Bultmann,

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[21] Jung to White, 5 October 1945, ibid., p. 6, p. 8. The letter is several pages long. Jung underestimated the doctrine of grace of the Dominicans and the Catholic Church in general. Cf. footnotes 85, p. 79 and 129, p. 84 above.

[22] See above I, 2b), p. 12. In letter 15 Jung describes the absence of a claim to power as a virtue of Protestantism.

[23] See letter 31.

[24] White once openly reproached Jung for rejecting the transcendent, which annoyed Jung. *The Jung–White Letters*, pp. 9f.

[25] C. G. Jung, "Foreword" to V. White: *God and the Unconscious,* written 1952, 12 pages, in C. G. Jung, CW 11, 1963, pp. 299–310.

and Reinhold Niebuhr alongside Karl Barth and Emil Brunner, as well as Catholic writers such as Max Pribilla.[26] He was in dialogue with Marius Besson, the most prominent and well-versed Swiss bishop of the time.[27] Owing to this, in April 1940 he was received at a private audience with Pope Pius XII. He also lectured as an honorary professor of "comparative ecclesiology." His "ecumenical seminar" in Geneva operated at a high theological level, and some of his books are thoroughly theological in character. It is not clear if Jung appreciated this. In his earlier years, Keller had suffered from an inequality in give and take (letter 25), but now as an older man he hoped for Jung's recognition. This he received explicitly in letter 29. Jung and Keller always addressed each other as 'dear friend," but again it is unclear whether theirs was a genuine friendship.

Following the three letters from early 1943 that concern a meeting with the American diplomat Allen Welsh Dulles, there was at first no conversation of equals. Jung was brusque and reserved. Although this is not expressed in the letters that follow, at the end of the war both Keller and Jung were summoning the world's public to consciousness. In a small volume entitled *Reconstruction* published in 1944, Keller called for the world religions to collaborate on the basis of freedom, social justice, and the common will toward a new ethos. He also spoke in favor of the unification of Europe and a new league of nations. In 1945, perhaps motivated by Keller's book title *Reconstruction,* Jung warned in an article against precipitousness: "Before the work of reconstruction can begin, there is a good deal of clearing up to be done. . . . I must be content with a modest contribution to the work of clearing up, without even attempting to look as far ahead as reconstruction."[28] These different emphases are typical and are already evident in Jung's first letter from 1915.

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[26] Paul Tillich (1886–1965), theologian and philosopher, professor in Germany, emigrated to the United States after 1933 where he was professor in New York, Harvard, and Chicago; Rudolf Bultmann (1884–1976), professor of theology in Germany; Reinhold Niebuhr (1892–1971), American professor of theology in New York; Max Pribilla (1874–1956), German Jesuit, ecumenist, opponent of National Socialism.

[27] Cf. M. Jehle–Wildberger, "Marius Besson und Adolf Keller. Ein frühes ökumenisches Gespräch," in *Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie* 58 (2011) 2, pp. 505–530.

[28] Keller, *Wiederaufbau der Welt. Geistige Voraussetzungen*, Zurich, Schulthess 1944. p. 55ff.; Jung, "After the Catastrophe," in *Neue Schweizer Rundschau*, Neue Folge XIII/2, Zurich 1945, CW 10, paras. 400–443. Cf. I, 3a) above and footnote I, 393 and Jung to White, 23 March 1946, *The Jung-White Letters*, p. 46. When, shortly after the end of the second world war, Tina Keller asked Jung if he could not "make his message have weight in world affairs" for the sake of humanity, to her disappointment he told her that he was now interested only in alchemy (*The Memoir of Tina Keller-Jenny*, p. 74 (from *Recollections of*

In 1946 the question under consideration is Jung's stance towards National Socialism. This was triggered by a newspaper article criticizing Jung, which Keller describes as a "smear campaign."[29] Some years later in letter 65, Keller refers to an article by the philosopher Ludwig Marcuse opposing Jung, the apparent Nazi-sympathizer. Apart from the Terry lectures published in 1937, Jung was no longer able to publish his books in Germany. He had evidently been under surveillance by the Germans since the beginning of the war.[30] Moreover, since 1943 he had belonged to the circle around the American diplomat Allen Welsh Dulles, a fact showing that he had modified his originally equivocal stance.

Much to Keller's disappointment, until 1950 the correspondence barely touched on existential questions, and so the reader's patience is required. There is also little of the personal material proposed by Keller. Letters 14, 15, and 19, 20, 21 are positive exceptions to this: Karl Barth's name occurs here, in fact it is mentioned by Jung several times,[31] but Keller is disappointed. At the start of 1951 he made a new attempt: wanting to give an account of Jung's significance to himself and to the culture in general, he therefore wished to discuss the key controversies once again. In the face of approaching mortality, he wished to speak about the "ultimate questions." He claimed to have a strong sympathy for analytical psychology, and expressed his regret that Jung would not allow even friends to enter into a closer personal relationship with him. He assured Jung that he had a lasting place in his life even if he could not settle in the same location.[32]

Jung replied that he would gladly enter into dialogue with Keller since he had little opportunity to speak with other men, some of his closest friends having died. It was difficult for him to speak with people who had no relationship to his spiritual world: he was always open to something substantial.[33] Now letter follows upon letter. Reading them, one sees a whole cosmos of human relationships and spiritual currents unfold. Quotations, often in Latin or Greek, give the impression of mutual theological, philosophical, psychological, and literary interests. It is striking that

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My Encounter with Dr. Jung, CMS = Countway Manuscript, 1968, Library of Medicine, Harvard Medical School, Boston).

[29] See letters 17 and 18 and footnotes 81 and 82, p. 133 and letter 65 and footnotes 485, p. 216 and 498, p. 218.

[30] Communication from Ulrich Hoerni, 3 January 2013.

[31] See letters 20 and 21.

[32] Keller to Jung, Zurich, 6 February 1951, letter 25.

[33] Jung to Keller, 12 February 1951, letter 26.

from one sentence to the next the focus shifts from the personal to the factual. Much is written quickly and spontaneously.

One early emphasis in the correspondence is Keller's dream described in September 1950, letter 24: Jung has bought Keller's home valley, an unspoiled swath of land along the Rhine. The discussion of this dream spans letters 24 to letter 33. At first glance it appears tedious or even irritating, but it concerns something important, namely the most intimate relationship between Jung and Keller with respect to theology. Keller regards the valley as their common property. Alluding to their early time together, Keller writes that Jung has acquired a piece of paganism with this purchase, which he, Keller, had to incorporate into his Christianity. The fact that he had himself evidently arranged this purchase in the dream was evidence of the original closeness between them. However he, Keller, had had to learn that his own area of work was not the development of complex psychology, and that his essential religious function was rooted not only in religious knowledge but in faith; ultimately it was a matter of obedience.[34] Keller refers to Barth's dialectical theology but stresses that his religious position had always been broad enough "to allow the light to fall from every side." Jung replied that he personally would have felt uneasy if another person had taken possession of his world of origin, even with his permission.[35] The dream evidently betrayed Keller's discomfort at feeling that he had become fundamentally dependent on Jung.

Keller retorted that the Rhine valley signified his original "natural theology." Barth rejected it as inimical to Christianity, whereas he—Keller—affirmed it. For him, the common property of the Rhine valley solidified into a synthesis of paganism and Christianity or gnosis and faith, or a theology of creation and a theology of redemption; this was no syncretism but rather a meaningful pair of opposites.[36] In letter 25 he stresses that he does not wish to hand over his innermost self to Jung's "demonic possession," because he must remain true to himself and because he is a child of God. Further, in letter 28 he strongly reproaches Jung for not showing an interest in other people. With these unguarded utterances the budding deepening in their relationship is immediately put in jeopardy.

Jung firmly rebukes Keller's attempts at interpretation, claiming that Keller was not clear about his dream analysis technique. One had to stick to the objective statement of the dream regardless of the subjective

[34] Keller to Jung, Zurich, 6. February 1951, letter 25.
[35] Jung to Keller, 12 February 1951, letter 26.
[36] Keller to Jung, 27 February 1951, letter 28.

reactions of consciousness. That is what he had done. The fact of the dream was that a piece of land belonging to Keller had passed into Jung's possession, for in Keller's report of the dream there was nothing about common ownership.[37] As for Keller's allusion to the "theology of redemption," Jung countered that he had never actually met "the redeemed." Also, the truth could not stand in opposition to facts. He rejected Keller's opinion that *gnosis* could be combined with *pistis*. It also enraged him that Keller could question his scientific responsibility, or even his competence as a dream interpreter! It especially incensed Jung that Keller had applied the term "demonic possession" to him, and so, as the matter stood, he considered that he was not a suitable partner for Keller.

But Keller did not easily climb down. He attempted to explain the ambiguity of the term "demonic possession," and remarked that he was remaining open not in order to quarrel but in an attempt to deepen their relationship on the strength of many years of friendship and in view of the distancing of the last few years, to which he believed the dream was also pointing.[38] This won Jung around. He replied that Keller must really not assume that he did not value his friendship. He had not wished to interpret, but simply had tried to establish the fact of the dream. It was possible that such dreams had a meaning as yet unknown.[39] Jung inched back quite a way, although he was probably in the right: his objective interpretation stood in contrast to Keller's subjective one.

In this discussion of the dream, it is important to address the personal relationship and the central theological question about the relationship of gnosis and faith. The protracted debate is significant both psychologically and theologically. Most importantly, the conversation with Keller began to interest Jung. Perhaps he was impressed by the fact that Keller stood up to him as a conversation partner in his own right. He had been contradicted often enough, but that someone would actually engage in debate with him was not something that happened every day.

Even as early as letters 14, 15, and 19, 20, and 21, the "God" question developed into the main topic. In letter 19, dated 1946, Keller reminds him that he had recently compared Jung with Barth at a discussion at the Psychological Club, since each met the other over certain important questions. For both, God was mysterious, and both claimed that he could be spoken of only "dialectically," that is, in opposites, as thesis and antithesis.

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[37] Jung to Keller, 4 March 1951, letter 29.
[38] Keller to Jung, 14 March 1951, letter 30.
[39] Jung to Keller, 20 March 1951, letter 31.

From this starting point, it must surely be possible to bring both men into dialogue with each other. Both also attested to the call of a power that transcends consciousness. If he, Keller, could refer to the dialectic as a general formal basis for a dialogue between complex psychology and Barthian theology, then he believed that he would have made no small contribution to the debate.[40] In response Jung stated that he would like to know what the "emerging completely other" consisted of in dialectical theology, and how this "completely other" is actually justified. Such were the matters that remained incomprehensible to him.[41] A few months later, early in 1947, Keller gave a talk at the Club on dialectical theology.[42] Two years later Jung declared himself shocked and at the same time amused about Barth's text on the *Heidelberg Catechism*.[43] Yet despite this Keller did not wish to speak of a growing distance but rather of a "paradoxical expression of closeness." It was about more than agreeing to disagree.[44] For his part, Jung declared that Keller should not assume that his friendship was of no value to him.[45] He invited him to his tower in Bollingen.

Keller described the meeting in Bollingen as a "real encounter." It had been valuable to speak openly to each other about the deepest things, even where a single language was not up to the task.[46] Keller does not paraphrase the content of this long conversation. In the run-up to the meeting, he informed Jung that he was grappling with the question of where Christianity and depth psychology could meet and cross-fertilize each other. Freud was naturally rejected because of his opinion that religion was an illusion. In contrast, Jung's theory opened the possibility for dialogue and points of connection or "landing," as one then could say in theological circles.[47] We can assume that these subjects were discussed at Bollingen. Keller seems to have come to terms with the fact that no reconciliation could be found regarding God's immanence and transcendence.

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[40] Keller to Jung, 11 October 1946, letter 19. For example, in his typically dialectical manner of speech Barth writes that "it is precisely in the revelation that God assumes a *disguise*. To see God means to see him *indirectly*. . . . Moses was to see God's glory, for sure, but for this to happen God had to hide him in the cleft of a rock until he had passed by. Moses was then permitted and able to see him from *behind*." In Karl Barth, *Unterricht in der Christlichen Religion*, II (publisher. Hinrich Stoevesandt), Zurich, Theologischer Verlag (TVZ) 1990, p. 19. Barth's emphases.

[41] Jung to Keller, 14 October 1946, letter 20.

[42] See above I, 3e), p. 85.

[43] Jung to Keller, 22 October 1948, letter 21 and footnote 107, p. 138.

[44] Keller to Jung, 14 March 1951, letter 30.

[45] Jung to Keller, 20 March 1951, letter 31.

[46] Keller to Jung, 29 May 1951, letter 37.

[47] Re "landing points," see letter 33.

It was important for him that they had found a rapprochement as human beings. The conversation in Bollingen in the late spring of 1951 remained an exhilarating experience in his memory.

Shortly after this, Jung sent Keller one of the two copies of the manuscript of his book *Answer to Job*, a mark of confidence![48] Along with the *Terry Lectures* and *Aion, Answer to Job* is probably Jung's most revealing work regarding his relationship to Christianity.[49] The biblical Book of Job is a complex, multilayered text, which, according to experts, has a long genesis. Jung did not consider every aspect of the book, but rather concentrated on God, or "Yahweh" as he tends to call him, and on the man Job. While Yahweh's behavior towards Job deeply angers him, he feels great sympathy for the suffering man.

Keller praised Jung's work, albeit with some reservations, as "an exceptionally significant work for the psychology of religion and history," but criticized central theological statements and regretted the severity of its tone. He worriedly asked what Jung's *Answer to Job* might mean for Christians and the Christian faith. He also queried whether Jung's view possessed the same religious-binding power as Christian faith, especially as far as the needs for forgiveness, personal fellowship, salvation instead of knowledge, and holy transformation instead of becoming whole were concerned.[50] And he made no pretense of the fact that in his opinion Jung was going against Christian tradition with this interpretation of Job. Nonetheless, Keller's reaction seems mild on the whole. He proposed a conversation in confidence before going to print; whether this happened cannot be determined. Keller was not an Old Testament specialist, and therefore he did not reinforce his misgivings with exegetical arguments. Only some years after the publication of *Answer to Job* did he ask Jung whether he had actually read Bernhard Duhm, who had studied Job extensively.[51]

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[48] Cf. letter 40, where two copies of the "manuscript" are mentioned. Back then no differentiation was made between manuscript and typescript, and it is the latter which presumably is relevant here. Cf. "On the Letters" below p. 102. Jung also sent the "manuscript" to his "theological" friends" Hans Schär and Victor White. See Jung's letter to Walter Uhsadel of 6 February 1952, in *Letters* II, 39. See letter 42 and footnote 292, p. 181.

[49] Sonu Shamdasani writes: "Jung's work on Christianity culminated in *Answer to Job* and *Aion: Researches into the Phenomenology of the Self*." *C. G. Jung. A Biography in Books*, op. cit., p. 209 and footnote 355. Jung's *Zofingia* lectures are also important here. See above I 1b), p. 10.

[50] Keller to Jung, 17 August 1951, letter 42. The discussion on *Answer to Job* is continued in footnote 369 on p. 197 and from letter 56 onwards.

[51] Bernhard Duhm, *Das Buch Hiob*, (with commentary by Duhm, 212 pages.) Freiburg i. B (et al.), Mohr (Siebeck), 1897 and Duhm, *Das Buch Hiob* (translated by Duhm, 71 pages, Freiburg i. B. (et al.), Mohr (Siebeck) 1897. New edition of the commentary, Verlag

During his time in Cairo as a young man Keller had travelled to Sinai and climbed Mount Moses several times. En route he always stopped at the grotto of Elijah. It moved him deeply that God met with the prophet not in earthquake, wind, or fire, but in the still, small voice. Keller believed that God ruled over man "not through sudden intervention . . . but through quiet, persistent urging."[52] Once he spent an entire night alone on the summit of Mount Moses: "In that moment everything alive in me concerning theories, hypotheses, and critical questions sank into that night. . . . One seeks to experience what constitutes the purely religious and soulful content of those Moses stories, of the man of God, who spoke with Yahweh as with a friend."[53] For Keller it was a question of the *meaning* of the biblical stories. The God whom he encountered on the mountain marked him for the rest of his life. He had a fundamentally different image of God than the one in Jung's *Answer to Job*, in which Yahweh is portrayed as an angry and jealous God, even if he vacillates between goodness and cruelty.[54] Keller also regretted that in *Answer to Job* Jung does not draw a keener distinction between "Yahweh himself and the consciousness of God that has yet to complete an internal development in the Yahweh image."[55] Admittedly Jung himself suggests several times in his book that he was describing an archaic God, and that the biblical Book of Job was "a landmark in the long historical development of a divine drama."[56]

The Bern Professor of Theology and Psychology of Religion, Hans Schär, also read the manuscript. Jung wrote to him:

> I am glad that you have not damned me. What offends you bothers me too. I would have liked to avoid sarcasm and mockery but couldn't, for that is the way I felt. . . . I realize only afterwards that they have their place as expressing resistance to God's nature, which sets us at odds with ourselves. I had to wrench myself free of God, so to speak, in order to find that unity in myself which God seeks through man. . . . Sarcasm is the means by which we hide our hurt

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Kessinger Pub 2010. Duhm was Keller's former professor of Old Testament in Basel. See letter 59 and above I, 1a), p. 4.

[52] Keller, *Eine Sinai-Fahrt* (Frauenfeld: Huber), 1901, p. 62. Cf. Kings 19: 1–13.

[53] Ibid., p. 68. Cf. letters 54 and 74.

[54] Jung, *Answer to Job*, first edition, Rascher 1952. Here and following quotes from C. G. Jung, *Answer to Job*, in C. G. Jung CW 11, paras. 553–758.

[55] Letter 77.

[56] Jung: *Answer to Job*, para. 560 (first sentence of the second foreword); cf. para. 608 ("the drama has been consummated for all eternity").

> feelings from ourselves, and from this you can see how very much the knowledge of God has wounded me, and how very much I would have preferred to remain a child in the Father's protection and shun the problem of opposites.[57]

An unsigned handwritten commentary on Jung's manuscript of *Answer to Job* possibly originates with Schär.[58] In it one reference states that the biblical Book of Job expresses a concept of God from an older tradition in which Yahweh is not yet familiar with Sophia, that is, with wisdom, but rather is "driven by Satan." Perhaps it signifies the "birth pangs of a new birth of God."

After receiving the "manuscript" of Job, Victor White wrote Jung:[59]

> Thank you a million for "Hiob." Though I have countless other things to do, I can hardly put it down. It is the most exciting and moving book I have read in years: and somehow it arouses tremendous bonds of sympathy between us, and lights up all sorts of dark places in the Scriptures and in my own psyche. . . . My own MS [*God and the Unconscious*] should shortly reach you. . . . [But then he continues:] I do wish we could somehow resolve this deadlock about *privatio boni*.[60] . . . Would it (I wonder) help at all if I concede that evil cannot be perceived . . . as *privation* . . . ? If that is so, perhaps I could begin to find some common ground—which I am extremely eager to do. . . . In Catholic theology of course the devil . . . has *deprived* himself of his due and connatural relationship to God. The "evil" in hell is likewise the *privatio* of the divine vision . . . and so likewise in the damned. . . . There is no question of dualism in the

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[57] Jung to Schär, 16 November 1951, *C. G. Jung Letters* II, 28–29. Re Schär, see biographical footnote on ibid. p. 28, and the mention of him in the letter to Rudin, p. 553. See also note 3, p. 629. Schär's preceding letter is not available. It is worth noting that Jung uses the formal form of "you" (Sie) to Schär whereas he uses the informal form (du) to Keller.

[58] Nine pages, unsigned *commentary* (ETH C. G. Jung archive).

[59] White to Jung, 4 April 1952, in *The Jung-White Letters*, 181ff. Although White had received the "manuscript" (see footnote 268, p. 175 on letter 38) and in the letter quoted here writes of "my **own** MS," it cannot be ruled out that he had already received the book—which appeared in March—and that his response of 4 April 1952 is already his reaction to it.

[60] Privatio boni (Latin) = absence of good; classical theological doctrine of Thomas Aquinas, who defines evil not as a reality in its own right but "only" as the absence of the good. Jung rejected this perception and confirms his view in the postscript to *Answer to Job*, which was first written in 1956, where he says that psychological experience shows "that everything we call 'good' is confronted by an equally substantial 'evil,'" in postscript to *Job*, CW 11, p. 505 in German version only.

> sense of some positive existence co-existing with, but other than, the summum bonum[61] which must include all good. Of course a moral, man-made, chosen dualism should be admitted, in the sense that man . . . may refuse the unity. But this, so far from involving a permanent and intrinsic evil principle, would mean that even our disorder comes from within the divine order: from which standpoint of course hell is good! . . . Is this "Einheit des Selbst," this complexio oppositorum[62] good or evil? Perhaps you would say, "beyond good and evil?"[63] . . . Indeed, if fully realized, would not the summum bonum be—not only including the good in all goods, but in all evils as well?

Thus, the conclusion of the letter is that White like Keller cannot accept evil as a part of God.[64] White became even clearer on 9 July 1952: "Christian doctrine has never denied the existence of Evils—evil people, things, actions—these are *real*. . . . But WHY in heaven's name level accusations about Christian doctrine which the New Testament . . . can tell you . . . is demonstrably untrue?"[65] White's fundamental critique is aimed in a direction similar to Keller's, inasmuch as it also sees the essence of Christianity compromised. Jung had already rejected the doctrine of *privatio boni* in *Aion*.[66] White's insistence on the goodness of God tarnished the friendship with Jung although it did recover later.

Jung's *Answer to Job* appeared in 1952.[67] We can assume that he slightly moderated the text during the production process, but whether

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[61] Summum bonum (Latin) = the highest good (God). Jung writes in *Answer to Job*: "The belief in summum bonum is impossible for a reflective consciousness" ibid., paras. 662–664.

[62] Complexio oppositorum (Latin) = coincidence of opposites, term by Nicholas of Cusa, 1401–1464.

[63] = beyond good and evil. Cf., Friedrich Nietzsche: *Beyond Good and Evil. Prelude to a Philosophy of the Future*, in Nietzsche, *Works*, Carl Hanser, Munich,1955, 3 vols., vol. 2, pp. 563–759.

[64] Albert Görres, well-known Catholic psychoanalyst, is of the same opinion: "Above all, Jung's religiosity seems to me to destroy human dignity. For him, evil is part of the Divine. I can and wish only to worship a God who is *worthy* of being worshipped." In Albert Görres/Karl Rahner, *Das Böse. Wege zu seiner Bewältigung in Psychotherapie und Christentum,* Freiburg, Herder 1982, p. 237.

[65] White to Jung, 9 July 1952, in *The Jung-White Letters*, pp. 200–203.

[66] Jung, *Aion*, CW 9: ii, e.g., paras. 101 and 104. On White's reaction to Jung's *Answer to Job,* see his article in the Dominican journal *Blackfriars* of March 1955, in which he made his criticism public. Letter 59 and footnote II, 1064.

[67] C. G. Jung, *Answer to Job*, first appeared in English in London, 1954, in America, 1956, and in the English CW 11, 1963.

this was due to the critical remarks of the three theologians cannot be demonstrated.[68] One of the two copies of the manuscript is missing.[69] However, the author, Marianne Jehle-Wildeberger, was able to examine one copy of the second version.[70]

The document reveals that Jung intensively reworked the text after the hasty writing of the first draft.[71] Many words, parts of sentences, and whole sentences have been struck through or reformulated. Several times half of or even an entire page has been glued over with a new version.[72] Partly, it was simply a question of a linguistic reworking. However, several times a new thought has been inserted, often a biblical reference as well. Jung deleted other references with energetic crossings-out. One of these reads: "When the oppression reached its high point, there was nothing left for Yahweh to do than to rip the bowels from Job's body or to roast him piece by piece in a slow fire. But he suddenly seemed to have had enough."[73] Or, "Job seemed to sense that Yahweh had tried to conceal a small weakness: something must have flashed through his mind like 'J'ai failli penser!' In fact the situation was extremely uncomfortable, for when the Almighty injures himself with his own weapon he is so annoyed with his own ineptitude that it becomes imminently dangerous for his inferior. Personalities like Yahweh actually urgently need a scapegoat in order to relieve themselves as quickly as possible from the fatal impression of a moral failure."[74] In the printed book these harsh passages are missing. Whether Jung deleted them before or after the three theologians' inspection cannot be ascertained.

Jung's secretary, Marie-Jeanne Schmid, who typed up the text was evidently horrified and feared the reaction of Protestant ministers.[75] Regarding the composition process, Sonu Shamdasani found the following illuminating letter reference: "As Marie-Louise von Franz recalled, Jung 'wrote

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[68] See letter 42, footnote 292, p. 181.

[69] See letter 40, in which two copies of the "manuscript" are mentioned; cf. above, p. ■.

[70] The copy is located at the Foundation for the Works of C. G. Jung in Zurich.

[71] It is unknown at which point in its production process Keller had sight of the "manuscript." Cf. letter 40 and II, "On the Letters," above, p. 101.

[72] Or new pages were inserted in the new version. This cannot be seen from the copy of the "manuscript."

[73] Jung, copy "Manuscript," 11. If this sentence had been included in the book it would have been found in CW11 in para. 597.

[74] Copy 'Manuscript" 14; in the printed book *Answer to Job* the quote should have been located before the sentence "Job has no alternative but formally to revoke his demand for justice, . . ." (CW 11 para. 588.

[75] From a letter from Ximena Roelli to Cary Baynes in Sonu Shamdasani, *C. G. Jung. A Biography in Books*, pp. 209f.

in one burst of energy and with strong emotion, during an illness and after a high fever, and when he finished it he felt well again.'"[76]

Remarkably, there are three preliminary documents ("Prefatory Note," "Lectorio Benevolo," and the foreword-like "Answer to Job") to the 1952 text of *Answer to Job*. The "*Lectori Benevolo*" (Latin: "to the sympathetic reader") comprises a good five pages. The third shorter "Prefatory Note" in the German printing appears after the inner title page, before Chapter 1. It was possibly written before "*Lectori Benevolo*." The manuscript copy of this foreword-like "Note" is practically identical to the printed text (paras. 560–563). In it, Jung declares that he wishes to investigate "how a modern man with a Christian education and background comes to terms with the 'divine darkness' unveiled in the Book of Job." He is not planning "a cool and carefully considered exegesis" but wishes to "give expression to the shattering emotion which the unvarnished spectacle of divine savagery and ruthlessness," due to Yahweh's "lack of moderation, . . . rage, and jealousy" produces in us."[77] However, Jung points out: "the Book of Job serves as a paradigm for a certain experience of God which has a special significance for us today. These experiences come upon man from inside as well as from outside, and it is useless to interpret them rationalistically, and thus weaken them by apotropaic means." He wishes "to express his affect fearlessly and ruthlessly and to answer injustice with injustice;" he wishes to comprehend "why Job was wounded," and therefore why man must suffer.[78] Many of Jung's patients, among them Protestant ministers,[79] suffered from problems related to their faith. Perhaps they were advocates of literalist-inclined theological conservatism and clearly had the image of a punitive God in mind. Certainly it was for them a question of theodicy: of why God permits suffering.

The "*Lectori Benevolo*" also corresponds substantially to the "manuscript" text. Jung possibly wrote it in reaction to the critique from the three theologians. The formulation "*Lectori Benevolo*" suggests this, as does the first sentence: "On account of its somewhat unusual content, my little book requires a short preface. I beg of you, dear reader, not to overlook it."[80] He explained his motives and intentions in writing the book in greater detail than in the "Prefatory Note." He used the biblical phrase

[76] Shamdasani, ibid, p. 210.
[77] Jung, *Answer to Job*, CW 11, paras. 561, Princeton, trans. R.F.C. Hull.
[78] Ibid., paras. 562–563.
[79] Information from Ulrich Hoerni, 17 December 2012 and 3 January 2013.
[80] Jung, *Answer to Job*, para. 553.

"Doleo super te frater mi . . ." as a motto, suggesting that for him it is a matter of compassion for his suffering fellow-men.[81] Certain "*psychic* truths," among them also religious truths,[82] express themselves in images beneath which lie archetypes. The biblical Book of Job concerns the archaic "archetype of Deity."[83] He underscores his limits: "I am quite conscious that I am moving in a world of images and that none of my reflections touches the essence of the Unknowable."[84] He further asserts that biblical statements "are also utterances of the soul," but that image and statement should be understood as psychic processes that are distinguishable from their transcendent objects.[85] These formulations are evidently designed to take the wind out of the sails of possible critics. At the end of the "*Lectori Benevolo*" Jung stresses that he writes "as a physician who has been privileged to see deeply into the psychic life of many people."[86] In 1951 in the Foreword to *Aion* he had already stressed this point: "I write as a physician, with a physician's sense of responsibility, and not as a proselyte. Nor do I write as a scholar, otherwise I would wisely barricade myself behind the safe walls of my specialism and not, on account of my inadequate knowledge of history, expose myself to critical attack and damage my scientific reputation."[87]

As far as concerns *Answer to Job*, Jung confesses that when he reads certain books of the Bible he cannot be coolly objective, but rather must give expression to his emotional subjectivity—"for this reason I shall express my affect fearlessly and ruthlessly"—suggesting links to his own person and his own images of God.[88] His father also still plays a part in this, as hinted at in *MDR*: "The problem of Job in all its ramifications had likewise been foreshadowed in a dream. It started with my paying a visit to my long deceased father."[89] "My memory of my father is as of a sufferer stricken with an Amfortas wound. . . ."[90] "Christ is the suffering

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[81] Doleo super te frater mi . . . (Latin) = I am distressed for thee, my brother . . . (2. Samuel 1:26, David to his dead friend Jonathan: "doleo super te frater mi, Jonathan," in: *KJV*. Jung, *Answer to Job*, para. 553.

[82] Jung, *Answer to Job*, para. 553, Jung's italics.

[83] Ibid., para. 557. Cf. below under commentary from Old Testament scholars.

[84] Ibid., para. 556.

[85] Ibid., paras. 557–558.

[86] Ibid., para. 559. Cf. the letter from Jung to Walter Uhsadel cited in footnote 292, p. 181.

[87] Jung, *Aion. Researches into the Phenomenology of the Self*, CW 9ii, x–xi.

[88] Jung, *Answer to Job*, para. 563.

[89] Jung, *MDR*, p. 217.

[90] Ibid., p. 215. On King Amfortas, cf. Richard Wagner's *Parsifal*. Cf. also the letters to Aniela Jaffé, footnote 269 on p. 175.

servant of God and so was Job."[91] Jung, however, brushed off the assumption that he had succumbed to a "personal complex": "However, I had a good personal relationship with my father, so no 'father complex' of the ordinary sort. True, I didn't like theology because it set my father problems which *he* couldn't solve and which *I* felt unjustified."[92]

Jung's approach to the biblical Book of Job was intuitive. He rejected historico-critical biblical exegesis, which concerned itself with the language, biblical environment, and historical origins of the texts, as being too rational. Paradoxically, in this he was similar to his "deeply religious" father, who was inclined to take biblical texts literally. The minister had thus found himself at odds with modern scholarship, and, as C. G. Jung says, was broken by it.[93] Jung opposed the demythologizing of the Bible, not from deep piety but out of a concern for the symbols of the collective unconscious.[94] In *Answer to Job* he cites countless biblical passages and several Church Fathers and other ancient writers, but no commentaries on Job by contemporary theologians.[95] However, in principle he agreed with theologians in seeing the Book of Job as "a landmark in the long historical development of a divine drama." [96]

As one would expect from what has been said, the published edition of *Answer to Job* is full of affect, albeit with some mitigation. God's behavior is "amoral" and "full of rage," writes Jung; one must account for the fact that quite abruptly "dark deeds" proliferate: "Robbery, murder, bodily injury with premeditation, and denial of a fair trial."[97] Yahweh shows neither remorse nor compassion: "Truly, Yahweh can do all things and permits himself all things without batting an eyelid."[98] "Yahweh has no Eros, no relationship to man."[99] But he also points out: "one must not

[91] Ibid., p. 216.

[92] Jung to female minister Rev. Dorothee Hoch, 28 May 1952, in Jung, *Letters* II, p. 65. Jung's emphasis.

[93] See above I 1b), p. 9 and footnote 38, p. 9.

[94] See Jung's *Answer to Job*, para. 647, which ends: "What is the use of a religion without a mythos, since religion means, if anything at all, precisely that function which links us back to the eternal myth?" Cf. his Zofingia lectures, above I, 1b), p. 10.

[95] See above re Duhm, footnote 51 on p. 101. Along with Duhm, Jung could also have read, for example, Wilhelm Vischer: *Hiob, ein Zeuge Christi*, 6. Aufl. Zollikon-Zurich, Evangelischer Verlag 1947 and the "current" scholarly commentaries, which in part classified the biblical book as an ancient oriental history of religion and attempted to reconstruct its origins.

[96] Jung, *Answer to Job*, first sentence of the foreword-like "Answer to Job," para. 560.

[97] Jung, *Job*, paras. 568, 581.

[98] Ibid., para. 597.

[99] Ibid., para. 627.

tax an archaic god with the requirements of modern ethics."[100] The man Job enjoys Jung's full sympathy: "the Book of Job places this pious and faithful man, so heavily afflicted by the Lord, on a brightly lit stage where he presents his case to the eyes and ears of the world."[101] In unfailing trust, he hopes to find "in God a helper and an 'advocate' against God."[102] "Here Yahweh comes up against a man who stands firm, who clings to his rights until he is compelled to give way to brute force.[103] Whoever recognizes God, effects an influence on him. Job has transformed Yahweh: "Job is morally superior to him."[104] Job has experienced but probably not consciously known "that his consciousness was higher than Yahweh's and that consequently God wants to become man."[105] That step symbolizes "the development that had to supervene when man becomes conscious of the sort of God-image he is confronted with."[106] On this one occasion Jung employs the term "God-image," for otherwise he refers almost without exception to Yahweh or "God." God also has a dark side in the New Testament, where Christ's sacrificial death, construed as an atonement for human transgressions, appeases the menacing fate of God's wrath and continues to reveal "God the father as the dangerous Yahweh who has to be propitiated."[107] According to Jung, to speak of a gospel of love is one-sided: *"one can love God but must fear him."*[108] Talk in certain circles of a "loving" God had irritated him.[109] He rejected the "privatio boni" advocated by Victor White and reiterated this once again in his "Epilogue" to *Answer to Job* written in 1956. Both Adolf Keller

[100] Ibid., para. 571.
[101] Ibid., para. 579.
[102] Ibid., para. 567.
[103] Ibid., para. 623.
[104] Ibid., para. 640.
[105] Ibid., para. 667. This refers to the incarnation of God in Jesus Christ.
[106] Ibid., para. 740.
[107] Ibid., para. 658. The God of the New Testament, in Jung's opinion, remains the "propitiating" or wrathful "Yahweh" who requires expiatory sacrifices. It should be added that the doctrine which teaches that Christ's death on the cross was to assuage God's wrath cannot be found in the New Testament but is first to be found with the mediaeval thinker Anselm of Canterbury (c.1033–1109) in his book *Cur deus homo* (Latin)=Why God became man, dated 1098.
[108] Ibid., para. 733, Jung's italics. Cf. Luther, who introduces the explanation of the ten commandments consistently with the words: "We should fear, love, and trust God in all things." On this, see Martin Luther, *The Small Catechism* in *Die Bekenntnisschriften der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche*, 2nd edition, (the Council of the Protestant Church in Germany; Gottingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1986, 507ff.). On this, see White's complaint about Jung's approach to the New Testament, II, "On the Letters," above, p. 104.
[109] Statement from Ulrich Hoerni, 3 January 2013.

and Karl Barth also were of the opinion that one should not make light of God.

Jung's *Answer to Job* caused a great sensation. It was positively received that he had tackled the Old Testament Book of Job in such an engaging way, particularly his engagement with the theodicy question conspicuously posed by the biblical Book of Job, a fundamental theological question for many people. However, Jung's interpretation of the Book of Job was considered by specialists almost unanimously as dubious or even erroneous.[110]

Karl Barth, who dedicated four in-depth digressions to the biblical Book of Job in his *Church Dogmatics*, commented:[111] "*Answer to Job* by C. G. Jung (1952): from the human standpoint this is a very penetrating study, and incidentally it throws a good deal of light on the psychology of a professional psychologist. As an attempt to explain Job and the Bible, however, it suffers quite hopelessly from the fact that according to his own declaration, the author is quite 'unashamedly and ruthlessly' giving expression to his very remarkable impressions. Hence he cannot possibly read and consider what is actually there, and his work is quite useless in this regard."

Victor Maag and Hans Wildberger,[112] then both Old Testament scholars at the University of Zurich, engaged extensively with *Answer to Job*. Maag made critical remarks about it in a lecture,[113] and in his later publication on the biblical Book of Job refused to recognize God as a thug. Wildberger stressed that what Jung had to say on the knowledge of the human psyche to the contemporary doctor and pastor, and not least to the minister, is "significant by any account." Jung's book is distinguished "by unrelenting seriousness" and by the "pursuit of the truth," yet still calls for a "counter-response." The biblical Book of Job is about fellowship with God that also exists when things are going badly for the man in question, and about the question of why the just must suffer. Generations of authors had worked on the Job narrative; the transformation of the God image is becoming evident. The fact that at the end of the story God

[110] See letter 42 and footnote 292, p. 181. The fact that Jung considers the New Testament, and more specifically Jesus Christ, in the latter part of *Answer to Job* is less well acknowledged.

[111] Karl Barth, *The Doctrine of the Justification*, Part 3, First half, *Church Dogmatics* IV,3, 1st half, Zollikon: Evangelischer Verlag Zollikon 1959, p. 444. In this volume, observations on Job: 443–448, 459–470, 486–499, 522–531.

[112] Wildberger, H., 1979, *Das Hiobproblem und seine neueste Deutung* in *Jahwe und sein Volk*, Kaiser Verlag, Munich, pp. 9–27.

[113] According to then-student Frank Jehle.

places a double blessing on the one who has prevailed in suffering is to be understood within the framework of the early Israelites' concept of God. Indeed Job does not bear his suffering without complaint, but hurls "the most severe accusations at God" and thereby shows solidarity with the suffering of others. "The Book of Job signifies the complete devastation of this righteousness of God which manifests itself in reward and punishment." Job effects the transition with the words "'that he [God] justifies man against God.' . . . He turns to God, *against* God, he counters the unyielding image of God which his friends hold out to him with the real God." The biblical Book of Job offers no easy answers to the question of divine righteousness, yet God ultimately justifies Job and not his comforters. Job is "the great rebel." The Book of Job reminds us "not to try to capture God in a system," and this is "what Jung has not understood or will not acknowledge.."

Other Old Testament scholars of the time also stressed that the meaning of the entire biblical book is the repudiation of an archaic image of God, of the belief that suffering should be understood as a punishment from God. Indeed, this is what Job's comforters claim. Jung's angry rebellion against God is unnecessary.[114] Perhaps due to Jung's emotional outbursts, these theologians overlooked the fact that *Answer to Job* is a much more complex and nuanced text than they wished to acknowledge. However, they valued the fact that Jung was engaging with the Bible at all and that he was exploring the meaning of suffering. And his alignment with Job, the oppressed man, moved them all. Undoubtedly Jung stimulated an important debate among theologians, and the discussion of his *Answer to Job* continued for decades.

It seems that Keller's rather cautious critique of Jung's book led to a renewed cooling of their relationship. In any case the letters became more infrequent. In 1955 Jung declared with vexation that it seemed impossible to have a "spiritual conversation."[115] Yet he reopened the topic of *Answer to Job* in letter 56, regarding the discussions about it and the translation and publication of the book in America, which Keller was seeking to facilitate. However, none of the publishers who had been approached, not even the Bollingen Foundation, which had been commissioned to publish Jung's work in English, wanted anything to do with it, and reservations about it in Christian circles were significant, even in cosmopolitan California. Thus *Answer to Job* remained a recurring topic throughout

[114] See footnote 292, p. 181 re letter 42.
[115] Jung to Keller, 11 July 1955, letter 61.

the correspondence. In 1957, letter 77, Keller remarked that it would have been better if Jung had made a clearer distinction between God and God-consciousness.[116] Jung did not respond to this, having already defended his position again in letter 66.[117] All the same, *Answer to Job* was read closely in the small circle around the psychiatrist James Isaac Kirsch in Los Angeles.

From 1955 on, the correspondence intensified once again. Keller constantly found reasons to write to Jung, wanting to maintain the contact at all costs. Above all, the correspondence revolved around common acquaintances and Jung's impact on psychologists and theologians in California. Apart from the aforementioned letter from Jung of 11 July 1955, it now proceeded along calm, sometimes even cheerful lines. In the final letters Keller often repeats himself, suggesting a diminishment of his cognitive capacities, and also often speaks of the need for the ailing Jung to take care of himself.

At the end of 1951 Keller traveled to America for several weeks. Even then he did not wish to leave without saying a warm farewell to Jung: death, which had long been a theme, loomed ever nearer.[118] In the course of 1957 he decided to spend the last years of his life in California. Jung teased him about this in a delicious way in letter 75. But Keller felt at home in Los Angeles; it was too cold for him in Switzerland, in every sense: the staid conservative atmosphere of Switzerland in the 1950s did not suit his expansive spirit. In European church circles he was sinking into obscurity, and in the Psychological Club he often felt misunderstood. While much about postwar America displeased him, he never had a negative word to say about California. Further, Los Angeles was a center for Jungians with whom he kept in close contact.

Keller saw in Jung one of the great minds in the cultural history of the twentieth century, whose vision he considered "inspired."[119] He was very involved in the promotion of Jung's psychology in California. His sympathy for the *New Thought* religious movement, which showed substantial and personal interconnections with Jung's thought, is striking.[120] However, in 1956 in the American book *This Is My Faith,*[121] he once again

[116] Keller to Jung, Los Angeles, 12 July 1957, letter 77.
[117] Jung to Keller, September 1956, letter 66.
[118] Keller to Jung, 27 November 1951, letter 43.
[119] Keller to Jung, 16 July 1955, letter 62.
[120] See letter 63.
[121] Keller in, Stewart G. Cole, (ed.), *This Is My Faith. The Convictions of Representative Americans Today,* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1965), pp. 161–171. Keller and Albert

expressly described Barthian and Brunner's theology as the foundation of his faith: "individual and collective progress" cannot be achieved "merely by resort to humanistic self-redemption." It needs "that spiritual help and cooperation provided by the personalistic influence of Jesus Christ and the inspiration and belief in the never-ending challenge of the Holy Spirit." Hope resides in "a turning to that total otherness of the transcendent God whom man may meet through a personal encounter."[122]

Early in 1958 Keller had a stroke. His memory was permanently affected. His daughter Margrit—Jung's goddaughter and a nurse—took on his care. Tina Keller also relocated to California. Jung wrote Keller a last letter. He expresses his distress and signs off with "in old loyalty, your C. G. Jung."[123] It was now Tina Keller who exchanged a few letters with Jung from California and who reported on the composure of her husband. She could only speak with him a little. She wrote of his death: "He seemed to sleep as I entered his room, he opened his eyes and stretched out both hands, the hands I loved so much. Then he made a beautiful gesture showing the distance beyond, as if he were saying, he was now going to a better place beyond."[124] According to theologian Otto Haendler Jung also "fell peacefully asleep."[125] Both reached a great age, Jung eighty-six and Keller ninety-one. Keller wrote Jung early in 1957: "it comforts me that we will perhaps see each other again in heaven."[126]

The relationship between Jung and Keller spans a good half-century. This was extraordinary for, apart from the relationship with Albert Oeri and a few others, Jung's friendships with men often ended after a short time. Their common passion for religion, for the spiritual in general, united them. Yet even in the correspondence, conflicts manifest themselves. Neither of them minces his words. A few times the relationship seemed to be in serious danger. Sensitivity and a certain vanity are evident in both. Yet they made repeated attempts at reconciliation, all the more as they became more isolated. As his letters show, Keller considered Jung a friend.

Einstein were the only non-American authors in the book. Einstein had assumed American citizenship alongside his Swiss nationality, but Keller had not.

[122] Ibid., pp. 165–167 and pp. 169ff.

[123] Jung to Keller, 3 April 1958, letter 81.

[124] Tina Keller, "Adolf Keller, February 7 1872–February 10 1963," manuscript 1973, no page numbers (private archive of P. Keller)

[125] Otto Haendler, "C. G. Jung zum Gedächtnis" (1962), in Joachim Scharfenberg and Klaus Winkler (publ.), Otto Haendler, *Tiefenpsychologie, Theologie und Seelsorge*. Gottingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht, 1973, p. 69. First appearance in *Wege zum Menschen* 14/1962, pp. 1f. On Haendler's visit to Jung see letter 64.

[126] Keller to Jung, 9 March1957, letter 76.

In his letters Jung also calls Keller a friend several times—not only as a form of address. It was a difficult yet authentic friendship since it was based in honesty. It is striking that they said "du" to each other, which would have been unusual at the time. And it is completely extraordinary that Jung for the most part signed his letters to Keller as "Carl." He practically never did this with any other correspondent.[127]

"In my medical experience," writes C. G. Jung, "as well as in my own life I have again and again been faced with the mystery of love. . . . Love 'bears all things' and 'endures all things' (1.Cor.XIII,7). . . . 'Love ceases not'—whether he speaks with the 'tongues of angels' or with scientific exactitude traces the life of the cell down to its uttermost source."[128]

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The dialogue between Jung and Keller has a pioneering character. It was the first conversation between Jungian psychology and Barthian theology. Although Keller's attempt at bringing Jung and Barth into direct conversation with each other failed, in letter 68 he confirmed a growing interest in psychology on the part of Barth and Brunner. As an intermediary and at the same time an independent thinker, Keller had the gift of recognizing the big picture encompassing systems of thought that appeared irreconcilable at first. He was convinced (as he says in letter 22) that "one might detect a hidden bridge towards the opposing point of view" and where "Christianity and depth psychology might encounter and enrich each other, both intellectually and culturally" (letter 33). Jung, too, believed this; otherwise he would not have sought out conversations with Keller, White, and other theologians. Keller was occasionally experienced both by Jung and Barth as disloyal, due to his bridge building. Nonetheless, he did more for the dissemination of their ideas than many an unquestioning follower.

Alongside their personal relationship, the image of God and the image of man are absolutely central in the conversation between Jung and Keller. This is true not only of the correspondence from their later years, but also the entire duration of their relationship. They largely agreed about the image of man: man is an ambivalent being, in whose soul both good and evil exist, as the Bible also confirms. From experiences of the unconscious known at first hand and also from his patients, Jung knew better than most about the creative but also the destructive in man as manifested in,

[127] Communicated by Sonu Shamdasani, 17 December 2012.
[128] Jung: *MDR,* pp. 353–354.

say, National Socialism. God was exceptionally important to both Jung and Keller. Both were religious men; each argues for a strong God. Jung's image of God is ambivalent, like his image of man, as evidenced in his quaternity theory and in *Answer to Job*: God is good but carries something devilish in him. This image of God was informed by his conviction that God can be experienced only immanently. Although he did not exclude transcendence, he doubted whether grace could be experienced. He rejected the Lutheran doctrine of justification, coming down instead on the side of the healing effect of individuation. Keller on the other hand insisted on the transcendence of God, that is, on revelation, both before the publication of *The Epistle to the Romans* and even more so afterwards. As a minister he had seen how liberating the assurance of grace could be. However, he never questioned the immanence of God. All in all, Jung and Keller emphasized different aspects of the God question. Not for nothing did Keller write frequently of the opposition of pistis and gnosis, of faith and knowledge, of the theology of revelation and natural theology, of redemption through Christ or self-liberation. It was the "true dialectic"[129] that was needed. The question that Jung posed to Keller was whether anything could be said about God outside of experience and, if so, whether theologians were actually acquainted with human beings.[130] Keller's counter-question was whether "Christ" really was "only" a symbol, and whether a statement of psychological religious experience really corresponded to faith as a relationship of trust for Christians in a counterposed "thou."[131] The difficulties in their dialogue began already in the lack of a common language between psychology and theology which they both lamented.[132] However, they sought a compromise. Jung once said that psychology does not deliver the one and only answer to every question.[133] Jung also considered concepts of God from other eras and other religions in his books, and Keller too was interested in non-Christian religions.[134] After the war he joined the inter-religious World Brotherhood that campaigned for world peace and especially for the reconciliation of the world religions. They were both ahead of their time.

Jung and Keller's dialogue was ground-breaking, raising big questions. The lack of consensus even in fundamentals remained right until the end,

[129] See letter 37.
[130] Jung, letter 61.
[131] Keller, letters 33 and 62.
[132] Keller, letter 37, Jung, letter 56.
[133] Letter 53.
[134] See letter 4.

although both knew that human knowledge is limited. Keller proposed discussion circles between psychologists and theologians, while Jung argued for collaboration between psychologists and theologians even as early as 1928.[135] Representatives of both disciplines carried the conversation onward.

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The letters between C. G. Jung and Adolf Keller are located, with the exception of the first letter, in the C. G. Jung archive in the ETH library in Zurich under the designation Hs1056: (apart from letters 2, 3, 4, and 5, only the number is quoted in the footnote). L signifies letter, C card, H handwritten, T typescript. The publisher has scrupulously standardized the form of the letters, that is, salutation and closing greeting. The paragraphing in the text corresponds to that of the authors. Their underlinings are indicated by way of italics. Round brackets in the text were placed by Jung or Keller. The sidenotes/addenda that Keller increasingly added towards the end have been inserted into the text where Keller designated. The square brackets within the letters have been added by the editor. These arise mostly in the later letters from Keller, which in places are difficult to read. Keller's probable terms appear in square brackets, while completely indecipherable items are indicated within square brackets with dots. Terms no longer in use today, and Jung and Keller's neologisms, are explained in the footnotes. The editor has unobtrusively corrected obvious spelling and grammatical errors; the same applies to punctuation. Abbreviated words are written in full except for greetings. Book titles are italicized.

[135] Keller in letter 68; Jung, C. G., "Psychoanalysis and the Cure of Souls" (1928/29), in C. G. Jung, CW 11, paras. 539–552.

The Letters

1 Jung to Keller[1]

Küsnacht, Zurich, 5 November 1915

Dear friend,

Many thanks for your sermon for Repentance Day [2] whose fine observations I have noted.

May I make a small observation about your psychological process? Obviously with the condition that I think you could not have said it any differently in your sermon.[3]

You describe the process of self-awareness and self-absorption that leads to the renewal of one's disposition and, in turn, to the brotherhood of man. I concur thoroughly with this logical insight. Why are people such fools that they do not simply do this? They could do so from insight and will—as we have done thus far. In reality it does not happen this way, but completely differently. That is, this process must be *lived*, after which the following occurs:

I Stage of introversion: separation of the individual from society. Because of inordinately strong social cohesion this does not take place without misunderstanding, enmity, and hatred = war.

II Stage of libido in the mother: reawakening of the archaic = psychosis. Unleashing of the highest and the deepest.[4] An almost anarchic state, in any case a disintegration of society to a high degree. (Dismemberment motif.)

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[1] Jung to Keller, 5 November 1915 (L H) (Winterthurer Special Collection. CH W Ms Sch 153: 9). This revealing letter has already been published in French in Cifali (ed.), "A letter from Jung to Adolf Keller of 5 November 1915," in *Bloc Notes no 4 de la psychoanalyse*, p. 201ff. On letter 1, also see I, 2d above p. 36.

[2] In autumn 1915 Keller had sent Jung his sermon for the Day of Repentance. It cannot be identified. The "federal day of thanks, repentance, and prayer" takes place annually on the third Sunday in September. This national holiday is observed with Christian services, and today in other religious settings also. At the heart of the celebration is the prosperity of the Swiss state and the spiritual, moral, and social well-being of her citizens. The so-called "Repentance Day Mandate, which is read on this occasion used to be written by the cantonal governments (today it is mostly drafted by the cantonal churches or bishops). The mandates written by Gottfried Keller (poet and Zurich state clerk) are famous. Until very recently the churches were full on the Day of Repentance with so-called Repentance Day Christians who only rarely attended church.

[3] Jung probably means that Keller has to adhere to the three prescribed tasks of repentance day—to give thanks, to repent, and to pray.

[4] In his statements, Jung presumably alludes to his exploratory encounters with the unconscious, which began at the end of 1913. Cf. *The Red Book* (from late 1913 until ca. 1930).

III Stage of emergence: a mystical development and unification about which I cannot yet say much, which I am better able to sense intuitively than think. For as yet we have hardly lived this out. The disintegration of tradition is not yet complete. The isolation will be insupportable. A start on this is to be found in the national experience of isolation.

The *task of this age* is therefore the sermon of stage 1: introducing man to himself. Thus, as an extravert, Freud is more *practically* effective than I am because he restricts himself entirely to stage 1. I have an impact only on those who have outgrown Freud. Therefore, *practically,* it is not efficacious to speak of stages II and III because these are as yet unlived and not yet viable attitudes among the people. Stage 1 is the exclusive task of the present. Apparently it contradicts the Christian principle of love and has much more in common with the inclinations of the early Christian Anchorites, apart from the mortification of the flesh.[5] The old extraverted Father Blumhardt[6] from Boll divined this correctly: he said to a penitent oppressed by the burden of his sexual sins: "Go away, what are you thinking of? Do you really think God has time to bother himself with your filth?" *This is practical* and prepares the ground for self-examination. It clears away the Christian barriers to the acknowledgement of the *other half*. And with this the Antichrist gets going in Christianity. And it, too, is religious. We introverts *see too far*![7] In consequence we obstruct life and simply teach people how and where one can *steal* fruit, but not how one acquires it for oneself. An extravert approaches your sermon *from behind* and claims that he has long since accomplished everything, this because he always steals what is desirable, therefore he always has *resistances* to the *so-called* good in himself, for the very reason that he has stolen it.

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[5] Individual early Christians, known as anchorites, retreated into the desert as hermits. They were devoted to meditation and practiced abstinence, possibly influenced in this by Hindu and Buddhist traditions.

[6] Johann Christoph Blumhardt (1805–1880), pietist theologian from Wurttemberg. While a minister in Möttlingen he was able to heal a "very hysterical" woman named Gottliebin Dittus. In1852 he moved to Bad Boll in Wurttemberg and became an internationally renowned pastoral minister. In his view, there was a connection between the forgiveness of sins and the healing of disease, a view shared by Keller, cf., below I, 2e): "Keller as Pastoral Psychologist." Blumhardt was influential in religious socialism and dialectic theology, see below I, 3b). More recently he has been recognized as a pioneer of modern psychotherapy.

[7] The "other half"=the "shadow" in the soul which, according to Jung, one should embrace and acknowledge. Jung described himself as an introvert, as did Keller. In the following sentence Jung reproaches the extraverts.

Excuse this esotericism. These are only viewpoints that I have acquired over the course of time. I too did not use to see it this way.

With best wishes,
Yours,
Jung

—

2 Jung[8]

[Küsnacht], 27 October 1930

Dear friend,

I am pleased to hear from you that you liked the Chinese book.[9]

Regarding Darmstadt, you would do best to write directly to Keyserling who despite his spectrum analysis is nothing less than a mean-spirited man.[10] If you mention in the letter that you are my friend you are certain to be welcomed with open arms.

I have duly written a comprehensive report to your wife about your son.[11] I assume you have seen it.

Yours,
Carl

—

3 Jung[12]

Küsnacht, 17 March 1932

My dear friend,

Regarding the text of your address I'd like to suggest I. Cor. 15:44–47[13] in accordance with my wife. The idea expressed there along with the

[8] L (letter) T/H (Part 1 T = typescript from "about your son" onwards H, manuscript in C .G. Jung estate ETH library Zurich).

[9] Presumably Jung, "Richard Wilhelm," *Chinese-German Almanac for the year 1931*, 7–14, Frankfurt am Main, China-Institute, 1930.

[10] On Darmstadt and Keyserling, see letters 25–29 below.

[11] Paul Keller (1914–1998), had puberty-related educational and other problems and was sent to Jung for therapy. Paul later emigrated to California, cf. letter 63.

[12] C (card) H (manuscript) (Winterthur Special Collection. CH W Ms Sch 153: 9).

[13] "It is sown a natural body; it is raised a spiritual body. There is a natural body, and there is a spiritual body. And so it is written, the first man Adam was made a living soul; the last Adam *was made* a quickening spirit. Howbeit that *was* not first which is spiritual, but

"Secret of the Golden Flower"[14] was the last thing to engross my mother-in-law.[15] We would be very grateful to you if you could bear this wish in mind.

Warmest,
Yours,
Jung

—

4 Keller[16]

London, [July] 1936

D.F. [Dear friend],

There is much talk of you at the Congress of Religions where Indian and Chinese delegates are taking part. Please write a card to Dr. Maitra from Calcutta,[17] highly esteemed, Hindu, (after 20 July, c/o Cook and Son, Berkeley Street, London) regarding whether he can meet you between 12–18 August.

Greetings,

Keller

—

that which is natural; and afterward that which is spiritual. The first man *is* of the earth, earthy: the second man *is* the Lord from heaven" (KJV).

[14] Richard Wilhelm, *The Secret of the Golden Flower: A Chinese Book of Life,* translated and explained by Richard Wilhelm with a foreword and commentary by C. G. Jung. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, rev. ed., 1962. Munich: Dornverlag, 1929.

[15] Keller conducted the funeral service for Bertha Rauschenbach-Schenk, who died on 16 March 1932. To some degree, he was a personal minster to the Jung family.. Cf. above I, 2j).

[16] C (postcard) H (manuscript) (filed in: correspondence between C. G. Jung and Tina Keller, ETH-library Hs 1056: 4507).

[17] Literally, *World Congress of Faiths*. Keller was a delegate. This was the founding congress, 3–18 July 1936, at University College, London. Speakers included Nikolai Berdjajew (1874–1948) and Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan (1888–1975). No letter between Maitra and Jung is extant in the Jung archive at the ETH.

5 Jung[18]

[Küsnacht,] 20 April 1937

Dear friend,

I'm sorry that I was not there recently.[19] Miss Schmid[20] tells me that you will be here[21] a week from Friday. I must come in to lecture[22] on that day anyway and could have you for supper[23] at about 7.30. Let me know if this plan would suit.

With kind wishes,
Yours,
[Carl]

—

6 Jung[24]

[Küsnacht], 16 September 1937

Dear friend,

I depart at the beginning of October and will be at the Ambassador Hotel in New York from 15–19 October. Afterwards at Yale University, Jonathan Edwards College.[25] It will be good to see you in America.[26]

With best wishes,
Yours,
[Carl]

—

[18] L (letter) T (typescript), (ETH library C. G. Jung estate, Hs 1056: 6230). (From letter 6 on only the number will be given after the colon. HS 1056: L = letter, C = card, H = manuscript, T = typescript).

[19] Presumably at an event of Keller's in Zurich.

[20] Marie-Jeanne Schmid, Jung's secretary.

[21] In Zurich for a lecture at the University on Comparative Ecclesiology.

[22] Jung gave lectures at the ETH in Zurich.

[23] On 5 November 1936 Jung had written Tina Keller: "Please thank Adolf on my behalf for his kind letter. It would of course be a pleasure for us if you could both come for supper next Sunday" (correspondence between Jung and Tina Keller, ETH Hs 1056: 5055).

[24] L T 6291, see footnote 17, p. 121.

[25] Jung gave the Terry Lectures at Yale in 1937; see above I, 3d) p. 77.

[26] Keller was on a lecture tour in the United States, speaking about the ecumenical conferences entitled *Life and Work* in Oxford and *Faith and Order* in Edinburgh, both in 1937.

7 Keller[27]

Tulsa, Oklahoma, 15. November 1937

Dear friend,

I saw how busy and surrounded you were in New York and tried therefore not to lay any further claim on your time.[28] I had reports from your lectures in Wolsey Hall at Yale and was glad that you lectured there where I received a degree from Yale.[29] There was another reason why I did no more approach you. I felt, also in what I heard from T.,[30] that I cannot claim to interest you in a personal problem which I evidently must bear alone without being pitied unduly. The messages which the "ghost"[31] sends me are such that I see we are at an end. I wish I had known this some 25 years ago.[32] I think various other things come to an end too.[33] Farewell!

Yours, Ad. Keller

Until 12 / T [?] New York Federal Council 23 Str. 4 Ave

afterwards Geneva Palais Wilson

—

[27] L H 5636. This is the only letter written in English in the whole correspondence.

[28] Thus the meeting "in America" proposed by Jung in letter 6 did take place.

[29] In 1927 Keller was awarded an honorary doctorate of theology from Yale.

[30] T = Tina, Keller's wife.

[31] Evidently Keller received news of his wife's problems from a third party.

[32] At this time Tina was going through a serious identity crisis, which cast a deep shadow over her relationship with her husband. Fortunately she later overcame this crisis, and the marital relationship recovered. The fact that Keller wrote to Jung about this reveals their great familiarity, even in this phase of spatial and content-related distance. On 2 December 1937, after receiving Keller's letter, Jung warned Tina "that one should set a limit to what is destructive. You know well what my view is regarding the unconscious. There is no purpose in surrendering oneself to its ultimate consequences. . . . The unconscious can only realize itself with the help of the conscious and under its constant control" (correspondence between Jung and Tina Keller, ETH Hs 1056: 6234).

[33] One can only speculate on the meaning of this sentence.

8 On Behalf of Jung[34]

Küsnacht, Zurich, 4 February 1941

Dear Professor,

On behalf of Professor Jung, I am sending you the enclosed foreword for the English edition of Mrs. Professor Keller's[35] book.

Professor Jung sends many good wishes.

Respectfully yours,
Your loyal,
[Marie-Jeanne Schmid]

—

[34] L T 9490. Addressed to Professor A. Keller, Federal Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York. Keller was in the United States from late 1940 until the autumn of 1942, where he was appealing to American churches for aid to Jewish and "Jewish-Christian" refugees. The reference to "Mrs. Professor" in the letter was a social convention at the time.

[35] Tina Keller-Jenny, *L'âme et les nerfs: essai pratique sur les conflits psychiques des «nerveux» et leur resolution*. Lausanne /Geneva: Payot, 1940, with a foreword by the analyst Charles Baudouin (see letter 59). Tina Keller had requested a foreword from Jung for the planned English edition. Since this was not a scholarly book, Jung wrote it only after much hesitation, although he wished it to be widely circulated among nonspecialists. The English edition was ultimately not published, which is why the foreword does not appear in the C .G. Jung Bibliography, CW19 (conversation with Dr. Pierre Keller, 28 February 2013). See the correspondence of Tina Keller and C. G. Jung (letters Hs 1056: 9263, 9264, 8958, 9528, October 1940 to 6. February1941, in the ETH library).

9 Keller[36]

Geneva, [one or more days before 25 January 1943]

Dear friend,

An acquaintance of mine, Mr. Dulles[37] from the American Embassy in Bern, would be glad to meet you. I explained the Fröbe[38] matter to him and naturally also spoke about you. He was receptive and was gladly enlightened about the shadow cast at Eranos whose shade perhaps fell a little over you.[39]

With warm wishes,
Keller

—

[36] L H 17 616 (filed chronologically incorrectly in the ETH archive).

[37] Allen Welsh Dulles (1893–1969), American diplomat, leader of the American intelligence service Office of Strategic Services (OSS) in Europe, located in Bern during the second world war. In 1950 Dulles became deputy leader of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and its chief in 1953. Dulles had come to Switzerland on 8 November 1942, shortly before the occupation of southern France and stayed for two years. He was to take on a "listening post" as a special associate of the embassy in Bern and to develop his contacts within political circles in Europe. The meeting in Zurich concerned an extremely sensitive matter. On Dulles, see Peter Grose, *Gentleman Spy: The Life of Allen Dulles*, London, André Deutsch, 1995; Neal Petersen (ed.), *From Hitler's Doorstep: Wartime Intelligence Reports of Allen Dulles*, 1942–45, Pennsylvania University Press, 1996; Mary Bancroft, *The Autobiography of a Spy: Debutante, Writer, Confidante, Secret Agent, the True Story of Her Extraordinary Life,* New York: William Morrow, 1983.

[38] In 1933 the theosophist and mythological researcher, Olga Fröbe-Kapteyn (1881–1962), began organizing small conferences in the Casa Gabriela in Moscia near Ascona in the Italian part of Switzerland to which she regularly invited C. G. Jung. These meetings, which were aimed at fostering encounters between Eastern and Western religions and spirituality, were named *Eranos*, meaning a "friendship meal" in Greek. The talks given were published in the Eranos yearbooks (from 1933 until the present). Evidently Dulles was interested in the Eranos conferences. Presumably the "Fröbe matter" concerned the following: the Jung enthusiast Mary Conover Mellon, an American woman (see letter 63), financed several Eranos yearbooks, as they always included an essay by Jung. She facilitated a trip to the United States for Fröbe in 1941 in order to set up an archive for pictorial representations of symbols. Fröbe was Dutch. Shortly after the early death of her Austrian husband she gave birth to twin daughters. One of them later became a victim of the euthanasia of people with disabilities at the hand of the Nazis. In the United States the FBI had been aware of Fröbe as early as 1939, since she was carrying a German passport at immigration (following the Austrian *Anschluss*). A further instance of suspicion came in 1941 when she undertook research in New York's Pierpont Morgan Library; it was feared that she was a German agent. As Keller hints, suspicion was also aroused in the United States towards Jung in connection with Olga Fröbe. Cf. letter 63.

[39] See the previous footnote.

10 Jung[40]

[Küsnacht], 25 January 1943

Dear friend,

I have already met Mr. Dulles[41] once. I already know him from New York and it would please me very much if he would visit me. We could then take the opportunity to scotch all these stupid rumors.[42]

I enclose a small work[43] that might interest you. It concerns the theology of the Holy Spirit from the psychological point of view, as it was only rudimentarily developed among ancient and modern heretics. Dr. Temple, the current archbishop of Canterbury,[44] confessed to me once that in his view the church had committed a sin of omission by not accepting the further elaboration of the doctrine of the paraclete,[45] banning it in the church. But it is a very tricky problem that must be approached with every possible caution. I was incautious enough to do so.

With best wishes,
Yours,
[Carl]

—

[40] L T 10 749.

[41] Cf. letter 9. Dulles did not seem to recall the meeting with Jung. Presumably it was Keller who arranged the first meeting between Dulles and Jung on 3 February 1943. Dulles designated Jung as "Agent 488" in his reports for Washington. In 1942 Keller participated in the *Federal Council of Churches* commission in the United States which was concerned with the reconstruction of Europe after the war. In 1944 he published the book *Wiederaufbau der Welt. Geistige Voraussetzungen,* cf. II "On the Letters," above p. 96. On 1 February 1945 Jung wrote Dulles: "Since after my illness I get interested once more in the affairs of the world, the various ways of propaganda began to interest me. German propaganda tries inevitably to hollow out a moral hole with the hope of an eventual collapse. A better propaganda appeals to the moral strength and not to the feebleness of the enemy." In *C. G. Jung Letters* I, pp. 356–357 [original in English].

[42] This evidently related to the "Fröbe matter" mentioned in letter 9 and Jung's being entangled in the fringes of this suspicion. Keller, like Dulles, had confidence in Jung as far as Germany was concerned; otherwise he would not have invited him to the highly sensitive meeting in Zurich.

[43] Possibly C. G. Jung, "A Psychological Approach to the Dogma of the Trinity," CW11, excerpt from the Eranos yearbook 1940/1941, see above footnote 18, p. 94.

[44] William Temple (1881–1944). Keller was well acquainted with the archbishop through his role as an ecumenist.

[45] Paraclete (Greek) = advocate, comforter, or the Holy Ghost (cf. John. 14:16 and elsewhere).

11 Keller[46]

Geneva, 15 February 1943

Dear Sirs,[47]

Recently a Dr. *Dulles* has been posted to the American Embassy in Bern as a "Special Assistant to the Minister."[48] He has evidently been sent to Switzerland by Washington with a special assignment to make an assessment of certain questions in Switzerland and perhaps about the reconstruction of Europe in general. Dr. Dulles also belongs to the HQ of "Foreign Affairs"[49] and is very well known to me. In accordance with his wishes, I would like to get him together with some personalities in Zurich who are interested in similar matters.

I would like to enquire if you would participate in a small dinner on Saturday 20 February in Zurich at which Dr. Dulles will have the opportunity to meet five or six men who are interested in making such a connection.[50] The dinner will probably take place in Restaurant Widder, Widdergasse 6 in a private dining room, picnic style, i.e. everyone will pay for his own dinner, and Dr. Dulles will be our guest.

This invitation is going to Professor Brunner, Rector of the University, Professor Saxer, Rector of the ETH, Professor Karl Meyer, Minister Sulzer, Professor Dr. Schindler, Professor Jung, Professor Silberschmidt, and Dr. Lienert.[51]

May I ask those gentlemen who have not yet given a definitive response to let me know immediately whether they can participate in this event, by telephone if possible, using the number on the letterhead.

Dr. Dulles is a good friend of Switzerland and is also a friend of Dr. W. Lippman[52] who recently defended Switzerland in a journalistic

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[46] L T 10 499.

[47] The recipients are listed in the letter.

[48] Minister = the American envoy in Bern.

[49] Cf. *Foreign Affairs*, published by the Council on Foreign Relations, New York, six times a year.

[50] The conspiratorial meeting is thought to have taken place as described in the letter.

[51] Emil Brunner, theologian (1889–1966); Walter Saxer, mathematician (1896–1974); Karl Meyer, historian (1885–1950); Hans Sulzer, industrialist und diplomat (1876–1959); Dietrich Schindler, international legal expert (1890–1948); Max Silberschmidt, historian (1899–1989); Meinrad G. Lienert, journalist (1895–1970). They were all prominent personalities, engaged in opposition to National Socialist Germany.

[52] Walter Lippmann (1889–1974), influential American journalist.

skirmish in such an extraordinary way that he wired him to congratulate him.

Respectfully yours,
Adolf Keller

—

12 Keller[53]

Muzot ob Siders, 21 May 1943

Dear friend,

I am sitting at Rilke's desk in his 12th-century tower,[54] writing to you in your tower[55] where even now you are perhaps thinking or writing or cooking yourself a nice soup. I am utterly captivated by this wonderful solitude in which I am completing my book about America,[56] but I still have time to think about all the friends who, like me, are now 70 years old or who, like you yourself, are approaching this threshold. Sometimes one is inclined to fall silent in this domain and to anticipate that ultimate introversion which will soon follow. But then after all one finds this position far too wise,[57] not everyone can become a Mahatma,[58] and one reaches out once again to the people who are part of our destiny and are still on the path with us. For us,[59] you have been one of these forces of destiny, and I call you friend even if we only rarely see each other, and in our contact we seldom enter that splendid and fearful[60] chamber, for the soul not only speaks to another soul, but simply is.[61] I do not want this simply to fade away in memory. I would like to see you more often

[53] L H 10 500.

[54] Rainer Maria Rilke (1875–1926) lived from 1921 in the remote "tower" of Muzot bei Siders, which belonged to the Winterthur businessman Werner Reinhart (1884–1951). He made it available to Keller.

[55] This refers to Jung's "tower" in Bollingen at the upper end of Lake Zurich.

[56] Keller, *Amerikanisches Christentum—heute*. Zollikon/Zurich, Evangelischer Verlag 1943 (forerunner of the Theological Press Zurich, TVZ).

[57] In the style of the wise man.

[58] Mahatma (Sanskrit) = great soul, cf. Mahatma Gandhi (1869–1948).

[59] For Tina Keller and for himself.

[60] With "splendid and fearful," Keller presumably has Rudolf Otto in mind: the holy is a "mysterium tremendum" (13) and "fascinans" (terrifying and fascinating), in Rudolf Otto, *The Idea of the Holy: An Inquiry into the Non-Rational Factor in the Idea of the Divine and its Relation to the Rational*, 1923, Oxford. On Rudolf Otto see above I, 2f), I, 3b) and I, 3d), pp. 42, 71, and 78.

[61] The word "is" is emphasized in the sense of simply being there.

without encumbering you, in a contact fitting for apprentices of death, where things, thoughts, and people no longer concern us, but only the grandeur and "misère de l'homme"[62] and God himself as each perceives him. This summer when I am lecturing,[63] grant me one such opportunity if you can—not next Friday or Saturday, but perhaps in 14 days or 4 weeks. I would value it very much, without of course imposing on you but in order to realize a presence,[64] if you are at all still present for others.

With warm wishes, also
to Emma,
Yours,
Adolf Keller

—

13 Jung[65]

[Küsnacht], 29 October 1943

Dear friend,

Please accept my best thanks for your kind congratulations. This honor places no particular burden on me as I must only travel to Basel every 14 days and this will be a not unwelcome change for me.[66] I will be lecturing to medical students there, which is decidedly more pleasant than a large public lecture: urbi et orbi![67]

With best wishes, also to
Tina,[68]
Yours,
[Carl]

—

[62] Cf. Blaise Pascal: *Pensées*, Chapters. II & III of part I.

[63] Lectures at the University of Zurich.

[64] In the passage "but to realize a presence" (phrase in English) Keller means "to really be there for one another."

[65] L T 10 750.

[66] On Jung's guest lectures in Basel, see above I, 3e), p. 82.

[67] Urbi et orbi (Latin) = to the city (Rome) and the world. Allusion to the papal Easter blessing.

[68] Tina Keller, Adolf Keller's wife, see above I, 2i), p. 54.

14 Keller[69]

Geneva, 28 July 1944

Dear friend,

The affection is now on my side since you took the trouble to write me such a valuable and long letter about your book.[70] I thank you very much for this clarification of the situation. It helps me not only to understand your book better but it is also a substantial piece about your inner development and attitude in which I have long been able to accompany you. This is definitely not long-windedness but very valuable information you are offering.

I do not wish to burden you with correspondence. It is now becoming especially clear that you are consciously locating yourself within the perspective of the natural sciences, thus on the ground of experience and of reason. An ongoing discussion within this territory and with this conscious demarcation is completely possible, even for theologians. The location of the encounter is thus clearly specified.

Just as I can converse with a shoemaker—even if it were Jakob Böhme[71]—regarding the leather and the shape of the shoes and the feet they will fit, and am interested in whether he is a good shoemaker, in the same way we [theologians] can converse with natural scientists and philosophers of experience in this territory where the transcendent is, as you rightly say, set aside, provided it has not already become experience.

Therefore your explanations do not disturb me in any way, and there is still room for them in those deliberations which I expressed in your commemorative book,[72] even though they include a strong admonition to humility for theologians, and also give them nuts to crack or throw up problems which cannot be resolved by relativistic discussions.

I can only partly affirm that your book gives the impression "of finding a way back to recognized facts of faith." However, there is much recognition in it of that fact from which faith lives, and indeed you have taken great pains to make this conscious in those who can accept "salvation" outside of the official packaging.[73] It is not surprising that the

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[69] L T 10 970.

[70] The "valuable long" letter from Jung is not extant. The book is presumably *Psychology and Alchemy,* CW12.

[71] Even as a student Jung studied the mystic Jacob Böhme who made his living as a shoemaker; see above I, 1b), p. 10.

[72] Keller's article in the commemorative book for Jung's sixtieth birthday in 1935, see above I, 3d), p. 72 and appendix.

[73] This means in a text approved by the Roman Catholic Church or in an official statement.

Society of Jesus[74] has caught a whiff of the Sulphur.[75] As for me, I believe there is no misunderstanding, and if one had arisen, you would have done your best to clear it up.

I wish you a continued good recovery[76] and final ascent of the luminous wisdom of old age.

With best wishes, also to
Emma, I am yours,
Ad. Keller

—

15 Jung[77]

[Küsnacht], 29 July 1944

Dear friend,

Thank you very much for your kind letter. It is very pleasing to know that I can express myself in my way without creating misunderstandings. You are absolutely correct in your assumption that my book neither gives the impression nor wishes to arouse the supposition that it is "finding a way back to recognized facts of faith." It is decidedly not a question of the facts of faith or of believed facts, but of religious facts. It is in the nature of things that in my explorations much emerges in favor of justifying various forms of belief, for there would be no such thing as belief if there were no sufficient psychic foundation for this psychic fact.

I believe that the Jesuits possess a particularly refined capacity to sniff something out due to their worldly claim to power, for this is always coupled with the fear that this power could be challenged somewhere. It is an advantage of Protestantism that in a worldly regard it will never have the chance to actualize a particular claim to power.

Once again many thanks
for your kind letter, I
remain as ever yours,
[Carl]

—

[74] Societas Jesu (Latin) = the Society of Jesus, the Jesuit order.

[75] Sulfur (Latin) = sulphur, i.e., something hellish, of the devil.

[76] In 1944 Jung broke his foot and then suffered a heart attack, see II, "On the Letters" above, p. 92.

[77] L T 11 165.

16 Jung[78]

[Küsnacht], 3 August 1945

Dear friend,

I'd like to thank you heartily for your kind letter on my birthday.[79] It was very kind of you to think of me. You will excuse the fact I am replying with a typewritten letter—not a handwritten one—of necessity due to the flood of letters that has overwhelmed me recently.

Your wife has also written to me and I ask you to thank her very much from me.

Exhaustingly, my birthday extended over several days, and finally, worn out, I have sought refuge in Bollingen where I am gradually recovering from all the exertions. For now I find the most remarkable thing about a 70th birthday are the shows of profusion that find expression on such an occasion. One is affected physically the most. One has either already perceived the psychological aspect or only notices it later when the excitement is over.

With warm greetings and
many thanks,
Yours,
[Carl]

—

[78] L T 11 939.

[79] Jung celebrated his seventieth birthday. Keller's letter on this occasion is not extant.

17 Keller[80]

Geneva, 3 September 1946

Dear friend,

We must not make very much of the new baiting of you in the recent *Tat*[81] and in the articles by Eliasberg.[82] On the other hand I believe I must inform you of something I recently heard in strict confidence which claims that the American occupying authority is not permitting books by you into Germany. I do not know how true this is, but it originates from a reliable source. I am sure you will not wish simply to let this lie. In any case I wanted to tell you so that you can take steps yourself to clear this up if you have not done so already. The American occupation is quite out of touch in cultural matters having to do with international understanding and the psychology of international relations. Therefore it will occasionally be necessary to intervene a little in this. Dixi[83]—and the rest I leave to you.

---

[80] L T 12 538.

[81] The article mentioned by Keller was signed by "our Germany correspondent" and entitled "A severe attack on Professor Jung," and appeared on Sunday 25 August 1946, 11. Jg. Nr. 233, p. 6. It was based on an interview with Jung from 1945 in which he had spoken of the inadequate resistance and the "collective guilt" of the German people and also on an article by the psychiatrist Vladimir Eliasberg (cf. the following footnote). According to the author of the *Tat* article, Jung's thesis of "collective guilt" contradicted his views from 1934 in the *NZZ* where he had written of the creative soul of the German people (see above I, 3c), p. 74 and footnotes 51 and 52, p. 74). The article claimed that Jung had then been in "cozy conversation with Professor Göring (Göring's uncle) and his band of gleichgeschaltet [regimented] Nazi mind doctors." Before the war, Jung had bowed down, today he was doling out kicks. In his book *Zeit-Wende* (Zurich: Wanderer, 1946) Keller wrote of the Germans on pages 81ff. "The degree of collective responsibility cannot be measured, But the fact is that the German people both permitted this destiny and suffered it in the best of them, themselves bloodied and creaking."

[82] Vladimir Eliasberg (1887–1969), a leading German psychiatrist and psychotherapist, who emigrated to Vienna and then to New York on account of his Jewish heritage. In *Aufbau*, Vol. 11, No. 50, dated 14 December 1945, 3, he had written the article, "Die Wandlungen des Herrn C. G. Jung: zugleich eine Betrachtung über die Wandlungsfähigkeit der deutschen Seele im Allgemeinen," in which he opposed the "sweeping judgment" of the German people (collective guilt) by Jung. *Aufbau* was a German-language weekly by Jewish émigrés in the United States. It was published from 1934 to 2004 in New York; those involved included Hannah Arendt, Albert Einstein, Stefan Zweig, Thomas Mann, Carl Zuckmayer, Franz Werfel, and Lion Feuchtwanger and, in more recent times, Ralph Giordano, Jens Reich, and Stefan Heym.

[83] Dixi (Latin) = I have spoken, I have voiced my opinion.

With the amalgamation of the European Inter-Church Aid, I have become much freer,[84] and since I am also in Zurich more often I will consider joining the Society for Practical Psychology,[85] all the more so because as the leader of the America section of the Swiss Institute for Foreign Studies I must concern myself with in the psychology of international relations.[86] I hope to glean more about the entry requirements and also to hear you speak at the society's next congress.

With friendly greetings,
also to Emma,
Yours,
Adolf Keller

—

18 Jung[87]

[Küsnacht], 12 (or 22) September 1946

Dear friend,

This hounding of me organized by the Freudians leaves me cold. I consider it not unlikely[88] that my books are not permitted into Germany by the American occupying authority. No Swiss publications at all are being allowed in which says a lot for the unbelievable shortsightedness of the authority. In any case a lot of educational work is necessary. You are in the privileged position of being able to accomplish something in this regard, and everyone who has any understanding of the Germans' situation will be grateful to you for this.[89]

---

[84] The Inter-Church Aid which Keller had led since 1922 was incorporated into the provisional World Council of Churches on 12 October 1945.

[85] More precisely: *Schweizerische Gesellschaft für praktische Psychologie* (S.G.P.P.) [Swiss Society for Practical Psychology], the umbrella organization of psychiatric and psychotherapeutic specialists working in Switzerland since 1895. Based in Bern.

[86] The Institute, with a close connection to the University of Zurich, was founded in 1943 through Keller's involvement. "On my proposal the University of Zurich has already created an Institute for Foreign Studies (*Schweizerisches Institut für Auslandforschung*) with a section on cultural relations with America where I am constantly consulted." Keller to Henry Smith Leiper on 5 March 1945 (C 26, private archive of P. Keller).

[87] L T 13 1760.

[88] Corrected: In the original it states: "very" instead of "not" by mistake. "Very" does not make sense.

[89] Jung alludes to Keller's close contacts with members of the American occupying authority in Germany, who often invited him to seminars, and also to his work within the America section of the Zurich Institute for Foreign Studies. See letters 17, 24, 35, and 36.

I have already endorsed your application for the S.G.P.P.[90] and you will hear everything required from the secretary of the society. Sadly I missed you at our congress[91] where I was definitely expecting you, and I saw your wife only from a distance. It was a very demanding time for me from which I must now recover.

With best wishes,
Yours,
[Carl]

—

19 Keller[92]

Geneva, 11 October 1946

Dear friend,

My reply to your swipe at Barth last Saturday[93] requires an addendum, as it might arouse a false impression. You asked whom Barth was speaking with and I replied: with God. He himself would not formulate it in this way, but rather in reverse: God addresses man. This call from a power that transcends consciousness was the tertium comparationis,[94] which allowed me to situate you alongside Karl Barth in "Complex Psychology."[95] For with this call, or this encounter or this conflict or this overpowering, the dialectical relationship arises, the *conversation* between the two polarities between which we find ourselves. However, that being said, nothing is as yet agreed about the content, and neither laughter nor the attitude of the αὐτὸς ἔφα [*autos epha*][96] resolves this, perhaps not even patient listening or the desire to understand the other, but rather this experience is absolutely reserved for a particular status gratiae,[97] as you said yourself. When I referred to the dialectical as the most general formal basis of a conversation even between Complex Psychology and Barthian theology, then I believe myself to have made no less a contribution than

[90] S.G.P.P. = Swiss Society for Practical Psychology.
[91] The S.G.P.P. arranged an annual conference which was in Fribourg in 1946.
[92] L H 12 539.
[93] Event at the Club on 5 October 1946. As a result of the Barth discussion in the Club, Keller gave a lecture on dialectical theology early in 1947, see above I, 3e), p. 85.
[94] Tertium comparationis (Latin) = point of comparision.
[95] Complex Psychology = Analytical psychology.
[96] Αὐτὸς ἔφα [*autos epha*] (Greek) = he (the teacher or master) said it himself.
[97] Status gratiae (Latin) = state of grace.

did the speaker,[98] especially as he was speaking from a theology which is not at all dominant today and is shared by only a small liberal group, whereas dialectical theology today dominates Switzerland, Holland, France, Hungary, and to a great extent even the confessing church in Germany [and] the ecumenical circle in contemporary theology, and is absolutely recognized as the most important theological phenomenon, even where it is critiqued, and it is not diminished by the mocking of a small society that is unfamiliar with the actual theological debate. Therefore I did not lead the discussion into the actual theological arena of debate but rather to the place where discussion is possible, namely to the dialectical, the dynamic, the oppositional wherever that arises, which is "completely other" than discursive consciousness or that certainty of a blessed possessor who simply has it and knows it.

Shortly Professor Anderson[99] the consultant in the American state department is coming to Switzerland via Germany and Austria, and may perhaps wish to see you. Will you be at home in the near future?

With best wishes,
Yours,
Adolf Keller

—

20 Jung[100]

[Küsnacht], 14 October 1946

Dear friend,

Many thanks for your clarification. For my part I must also explain to you that it was not dialectical theology that was being laughed at in any way at the last meeting of the Association, but far more your statement that Karl Barth speaks with God. That was rather too reminiscent of the

[98] It is not possible to ascertain who this refers to. It is perhaps Walter Gut, see above p. 31, I, 2c), footnote 74 or Hans Wegmann, both liberal theologians, who were in loose contact with the Club.

[99] Eugene A. Anderson, American, specialist in modern German history, became representative of the State *Department in Berlin in August 1946 to work as a member of the* United States Education Mission of Germany alongside the American theologian Reinhold Niebuhr, who was well known to Keller. (See Birgit Braun, *Die Umerziehung in der amerikanischen Besatzungszone. Die Schul- und Bildungspolitik in Wurttemberg-Baden von 1945 bis 1949*. Münster: LIT Verlag, 2004, p. 30.) Keller was also active in the "re-education" of Germany after the war, see letters 18 and 24.

[100] L T 13 171.

Lowells "who speak only to the Cabots and the Cabots speak with God."[101] I fear it would not sound any less amusing in reverse, for everyone is convinced that such a conversation does not at all take place in reality in dialectical theology, as the Barthian view is characterized after all by belief in the absolute authority of the Bible, and Barth according to general opinion is in no way willing to consider further revelations from God's side as valid. By the way, I'd like to advise you to avoid the argument that dialectical theology is widely propagated in educated circles, for Hitler had infinitely more followers than Barth and Christ infinitely fewer. The consensus omnium[102] is no proof of the truth, but may be the opposite.

In the discussion we would certainly like to have known more about what the "emergent completely other" in dialectical theology is, and how this "completely other" can be justified. These are the things that for me and for so many others are thoroughly incomprehensible.[103]

I am at home for the next while, and if Professor Anderson wishes to visit me, I would be pleased.

With best wishes,
Yours,
[Carl]

—

[101] Reference to the fundamentalist beliefs of the American Godfrey Lowell Cabot (1861–1962), who was made fun of in the song "The Boston Toast" by John Collins Bossidy:

> And this is good old Boston
> The home of the bean and the cod
> Where the Lowells talk to the Cabots,
> And the Cabots talk only to God.

[102] Consensus omnium (Latin) = the agreement of all.

[103] Keller attempted to make dialectical theology comprehensible in his lecture to the Club early in 1947, see above I, 3e), p. 85 Jung did not seem to realize that Barth spoke of a personal "completely other" while Rudolf Otto spoke of an impersonal "completely other." On Rudolf Otto, see I, 2f), I, 3b) and I, 3d.

21 Jung[104]

[Küsnacht], 22 October 1948

Dear friend,

Sadly I must disappoint you: I was not at your lecture[105] but presume you said something there that prompted your unconscious to spontaneously evoke my image.

Recently in the *Weltwoche* Dr. Jürg Fierz[106] made a blunder by referring to a lecture by Karl Barth in the Club that never actually took place. He also quoted Karl Barth in the same piece, namely from his text on the Heidelberg catechism, which I have since consulted. The quote is correct.[107] The extraordinarily comedic situation of believers as they observe

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[104] L T 15 435 There is a gap of two years between letter 20 and 21. The date 22 October for letter 21 cannot be correct, since Jürg Fierz, (see second section of the letter) did not write in the *Weltwoche* about Karl Barth's alleged Club lecture, until 29 October; cf. letter 22 and footnotes.

[105] This lecture cannot be verified.

[106] Jürg Fierz (Dr. Phil. I, b.1918), editor of the *Tagesanzeiger*, also occasionally wrote in the *Weltwoche* (a Zurich weekly newspaper). Fierz's two articles must be differentiated as follows:

1. In May 1948 Fierz paid tribute to Karl Barth as an author who was extremely uncompromising in his message while remaining fair-minded towards theological opponents (Fierz: "New works by Karl Barth," *Weltwoche*, 5 May 1948, 16. Jg. 5, labeled f.).

2. He writes in the *Weltwoche* of 29 October 1948 (16. Jg., 5) on "Two kinds of message! C. G. Jung: 'Symbolism of the Spirit'" and "Karl Barth: Dogmatics in Outline." The photographs of Barth and Jung in the *Weltwoche* were switched by mistake. Further, Fierz falsely concluded from a conversation with Keller that Barth had given a talk in the Psychological Club: 'Karl Barth . . . had spoken on a subject related to dogmatics and we had reached the discussion. Much was expected of this debate: a clarification of their respective standpoints . . . , perhaps a mutual rapprochement . . . ; in any case, suddenly a member of the Club stands up and rather abruptly directs a question at Barth: 'Is there such a thing as religious assurance?' Barth answered only: 'No, religious assurance does not exist.' HE bestows assurance! [Professor Adolf Keller who was present once told him] that the memory of this incident comes to mind when one compares the two latest publications by Barth and Jung and considers how to distinguish their two approaches—for their subjects overlap considerably. One cannot make the essential features of this difference any clearer or see it more clearly than expressed in Professor Keller's anecdote." Fierz further writes that Jung operates in "in an inconceivably broad space," conceiving of notions of quaternity (inclusion of the devil in the Trinity), while Barth concentrates on the biblical testimony. In his text on the Heidelberg Catechism Barth declares himself to be against a pact with the devil. Man can meet his judge, writes Barth "with joy, for the one who judges him has already relieved him of his sins, which is why he can now only think with humor about the contrast between the elect and the damned."

[107] Heidelberg Catechism—confessional text of the Protestant-reformed wing of the Reformation. This refers to Barth's publication *Learning Jesus Christ through the Heidelberg Catechism,* translated by Shirley C. Guthrie Jr. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; distributed

the damned languishing in writhing misfortune is quite shocking. By the way, this position, if logically followed through, leads to the astonishing consequence that there is no judgment for believers, as they have already been liberated from their burden of sin, and since hell is one of those "profoundly unchristian notions," there is no condemnation for the damned either. Thus the Last Judgment is as good as abolished, and the believers have not the slightest advantage over the damned. It seems to me barely conceivable that Barth was conscious of these consequences.[108]

With best wishes,
Yours,
[Carl]

—

22 Keller[109]

Zurich, Sonnbergstr. 19, [110] 28 October 1948

Dear Herr Fierz,

I have just read your interesting and valuable comparison of Jung and Barth.[111] However you are laboring under a small, intrinsically insignificant misapprehension, at least as far as my quote is concerned. I never said that Barth gave a talk in our Psychological Club—to my knowledge he has never been invited. I was probably speaking of a group of Zurich theologians to whom he did in fact speak the revealing words. So it was not a member of the Club who posed the question, but rather a theologian from this group. Content-wise this makes no difference. What is more important is that with penetrative insight one might detect a hidden bridge towards the opposing point of view. And in such a way that the reality of the secret can be considered once in symbolic form from the perspective of psychology, and a second time from the concrete reality of history and

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Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1981. This refers to a guest lecture Barth gave in the summer semester of 1947 in Bonn. The Heidelberg Catechism (of 1563) championed the notion that those saved in heaven could see the torments of hell suffered by the damned and could be edified by this. Barth categorically rejects this view (p. 76) and speaks of "profoundly unchristian images." Jung rejected the traditional doctrine of the Last Judgment but evidently could not imagine that theologians such as Karl Barth also dismissed it.

[108] A possible reply from Keller to Jung regarding Barth's text is no longer extant.

[109] L T 14 897.

[110] Keller had recently moved from Geneva to Zurich with his wife Tina.

[111] See previous letter: Jürg Fierz in the *Weltwoche* of 29 October 1948.

the personalism of faith, which sees a "He"[112] behind and beyond the "It," and which alone makes possible a real personal relationship in trust, love, responsibility, and that calling which constitutes the religious relationship.

With best wishes,
Yours,
Keller

—

23 Officers of the Psychological Club[113]

[Küsnacht], 2 December 1948

Dear Professor [Keller],

I must request your forgiveness in advance for taking the liberty of directing a Mr. Walter Tappolet[114] to contact you. He is seeking a lecturing opportunity in Zurich next spring for his friend, Pastor Dr. Walter Uhsadel[115] of Hamburg. He wishes to give a lecture on "The Psychology of C. G. Jung and Pastoral Care" that he has already given at Hamburg University. Although the Psychological Club's program is unfortunately filled until summer 1949, Professor Jung, having known pastor Uhsadel for years, would like to do something for him, so I have taken the liberty of suggesting yourselves in the hope that it might be possible for you to make space for this lecture in one of the societies known to you. I very much hope you are not annoyed by my action.

With best wishes,
Your devoted,
[?]

—

[112] "He"—a personal God.

[113] L T 15 436.

[114] Walter Tappolet, Swiss church musician and publicist, wrote about Albert Schweitzer's understanding of organ music. He was a friend of Jochen Klepper whose Jewish stepdaughter he had unsuccessfully tried to accommodate at his home.

[115] Cf. Jung to Uhsadel, 12 July 1947, *C. G. Jung Letters* II, p. 89f.; and above I, 3e), footnote 134, p. 85 and footnote 86, p. 107 and letter 42 below and footnote 292, p. 181. Walter Uhsadel (1900–1985) was a lecturer of psychology at the Diaconal Seminary "Rauhen Haus" in Hamburg, where he particularly emphasized the significance of C. G. Jung and his theory of the archetypes of the collective unconscious. From 1956 until 1965 he was a regular professor of practical theology at the University of Tubingen.

24 Keller[116]

Zurich, 28 September 1950

Dear friend,

My mention of your name in the chancel of St. Paul's cathedral in London[117] before an audience of around 2000 people found a resonance in a subsequent dream.[118] I am not [bombarding?] you. But after my first initiation dream that you once[119] referred to, came the following: you inform me, more kindly and humanely than in the Club, that you have bought the "Ramse," the beautiful, peaceful Rhine valley situated between Irchel and Rüdlingen. I was delighted and told you that this was actually the valley of my childhood, the Rhine I used to swim in; the village fête where the new spring would be ushered into the village by a procession of the young people; the *Gächel-stone* where babies come from. So, features of an original nature religion: birth from the stone, the Rhine as a river god, the spring as the return of life. I was also pleased that you had not bought the Ramse for profit, for this bit of wood and meadow would not be worth much, but from sheer enjoyment of nature, of tranquility, for romance and poetry. I was very astonished by this. And you had bought even more land and estates but thanks to this were being rather sneered at by a table of cultured types, whereas I, along with some other Club members, was extolling the discovery of a new side of you.

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[116] L H 16 793. Keller's handwriting is in part difficult to decipher. Keller's emphases.

[117] Keller was the first post-war continental theologian to be asked to preach at St. Paul's in London, in September 1950. See M. Jehle-Wildberger, *Adolf Keller* biography, p. 241.

[118] The significance of Keller's dream is discussed in letters 25, 26, and 28–34. It concerns the question of whether a common possession, or a common spiritual treasure, exists, and with it a close personal connection.

[119] On the initiation dream, see also letters 28, 44, and 69. In letter 69 Keller wrote of "how I was bitten by the snake and this had a healing effect." According to Keller, Jung interpreted the dream for him. There are many dreams in which snakes appear. Jung describes one of these and interprets it in this way: "One of my patients dreamed that a snake shot out of a cave and bit him in the genital region. This dream occurred at the moment when the patient was convinced of the truth of the analysis and was beginning to free himself from the bonds of the mother complex. He felt that he was making progress and that he had more control over himself." Jung, in *Symbols of Transformation* (*Wandlungen und Symbole der Libido* 1911/12), in CW 5, 1956, para. 585. It is unclear whether this dream is Keller's "initiation dream." There is never any mention of a "mother complex" in Keller's case.

Incidentally, your name was also resounding at a congress of religion organized by Indian scholars.[120] But in Paris, it was noted by Americans that your psychology was not at all represented at the Psychiatrists' Congress.[121] Should something be done about this?

Now, from 2 October I am attached to the American HQ for Cultural and Religious Affairs in Bad Nauheim for a whole month.[122] I will not trouble you to send a reply there.

With warm greetings,
Yours,
Ad. Keller

—

25 Keller[123]

Zurich, 6 February 1951

Dear friend,

I am grateful to you that you have taken up my passing remark [at a discussion at the Club] and that you are thus giving me the opportunity to give you more detailed information in person.

Firstly, my desire to leave the Club[124] has nothing to do with any sort of petulance about a misunderstood remark. Rather with the feeling that I am overburdened with speaking engagements and must make more and more space for myself, particularly at a time when I have lost eight friends through death within two months.

But now to the matter itself: I was bound to apply your remark to myself since it was made as an instant response to my views. But I was not insulted. You have so frequently directed your remarks at me and not infrequently delivered me up to the laughter of our highly expert ladies that one day I resolved to simply include these people in the totality of your personality and gratefully to honor them as a whole with both their

[120] After the Second World War, Keller became involved in the dialogue between the great world religions, as he believed the world's problems could only be resolved in this way. He was a member of the inter-religious World Brotherhood. Cf. letter 4.

[121] This refers to the World Congress for Psychiatry that took place in September 1950 at the Sorbonne in Paris.

[122] Exact description: Office of Public Affairs, Education, and Cultural Relations. Cf. letters 18 and 35.

[123] L T 17 610. Keller's emphases in text.

[124] Keller, in fact, did not resign; see letter 28.

light and their dark sides, and thus preserve our friendship, if only because you have had an archetypal effect in my life against which no small personal criticism, no momentary irritation may assert itself, although I react against it with greater autonomy and courage to criticize. I have always gladly embraced the criticism as such where it arises as a service to the truth and in objective debate.

You are completely correct if you have taken from my last comments that I have a friendly and accommodating attitude towards "our efforts" [for Analytical Psychology] and even keenly participate in them.[125] More than you perhaps realize from the impression given by my more pronounced reserve in the Club. This emerges from that dream I recently told you about where you had bought that entire beautiful, wooded valley on the Rhine, close to my home town of Rüdlingen where there are memorials to my earliest nature Gods, the God of Spring who was led into the village by the young people accompanied by horns and whistles, and the *Gächelstone* in the Rhine under which stone gods evidently keep the little boys and girls until the midwife comes for them. All of this you purchased, and so I had to integrate a great chunk of paganism into my Christianity. The fact that I evidently arranged this purchase in the dream reveals in effect an assumption of the original constellation with you, even though you never allowed it to be consolidated within a close personal relationship. But I had to learn that my authentic field of work is not the development of Complex Psychology but another cultural domain,[126] and that in the final analysis my essential religious function is rooted not only in religious knowledge, but in faith, which as you know is not only *notitia* but *assensus* or *fiducia* and *oboedientia*.[127] My religious position, however, is broad enough to allow light to fall from every angle, and my religious knowledge too receives something new and significant from this. Christianity has always possessed much more latitude than an orthodoxy credits it with, and at root, as I often heard in the Sinai desert, both Christians and Pagans can greet each other with the Bedouin greeting: Marhaba, which means "Greater space."[128]

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[125] I.e., Keller remained supportive of the project of Analytical Psychology. In a missing letter Jung had evidently noted this with satisfaction.

[126] I.e. theology and affiliated ecumenism.

[127] Latin terms from classical theology: notitia = knowledge, assensus = agreement, fiducia = trust, oboedientia = obedience.

[128] Cf. II "On the Letters" above, p. 102.

You barely even allow your friends to enter into a closer personal relationship with yourself.[129] Despite this, internally taking stock of things, I find I am grappling intensively with what your personality and your work mean for me and for the culture as a whole. And this significance is so great, so broad, and so deep that, like our *Gächelstone* in the waters of the Rhine, dissenting convictions, personal and objective criticisms, simply lap around it. Perhaps this even somewhat includes my concern not simply to hand my innermost being over to your daimon because I must find my own way of being authentic; I must live out my own self and may in this way be God's child.

When I read with indignation Keyserling's judgment of you in the *Weltwoche*[130] on 2 February, I experienced once again that this dialectic in my

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[129] Jung describes himself as "inaccessible," letter 29.

[130] Under the heading "My encounter with C. G. Jung," *Die Weltwoche* (2 February 1951, 19. Jg. 5) published an excerpt from Keyserling's posthumous book *Reise durch die Zeit*, Vol. 2, in which Keyserling writes of Jung's "curiously unkempt, even coarse manner of speaking" and of his "almost complex-laden repugnance towards the word spirit." He aligned himself with "an extreme chthonism, with a pure earth religion. . . . Hence the failure of every psychotherapist who wished to play the savior rather than be the healer. . . . Jung is not interested in the effects and the "consequences" of his actions, "regardless of what calamity" might have arisen out of them. This is "conscienceless." According to Keyserling, he had been in contact with Jung since 1921 or 1922, as he had spoken at Darmstadt conferences several times. "Yet a human relationship never developed between Jung and myself. . . . This outwardly so strong, even coarse and uncouth man was a supremely sensitive soul. . . . If Jung was personally affected by something, then he could be exceptionally unkind, even vicious, in self-defense." Jung himself was "an unresolved analytic case," which certainly had to be true, because "only the man whose resolution of his soul-conflicts has failed feels the need to waste his time on the soul of others so intensively and in such minutiae. . . . It is such a difficult thing, even inhumane, to be a pioneer." Jung lived in "terrible isolation." Cf. Hermann Count Keyserling (1880–1946, publisher), *Das Spektrum Europas,* Berlin/Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlagsanstalt.

Keyserling was a well-known figure in the intellectual life of the Weimar republic. Max Scheler, Richard Wilhelm, Leo Frobenius, and Rabindranath Tagore all participated in the annual conferences at his "wisdom school" in Darmstadt. Jung wrote in 1928 in "The Swiss Line in the European Spectrum" (*Neue Schweizer Rundschau* XXIV/6, Zurich 1928, pp. 1–11 and 469–479, here quoted from CW 10, paras. 903–906, 909, 920, 924): "Count Keyserling is a phenomenon that needs to be judged with extreme caution. On no account should one think the judgment final. . . . There is no merit in stressing its darker aspects, for they fairly leap to the eye. Moreover, so much light emanates from Keyserling that one wonders whether these shadows are not an integral part of him." Keyserling has a "peculiar intuitive capacity." His style is "mordant, and one often hears the crack of a whip. . . . Although he could be accused of megalomania, "his attempt to get a bird's eye view of Europe is no mean achievement." With Keyserling, Switzerland "undeniably comes off worst." Yet even though Jung felt rather insulted by him he says: "I admit unblushingly that Keyserling's criticism of the visible Swiss character, however harsh and fault-finding, is absolutely true." Keyserling describes the Swiss as the "the ungenteel par excellence," whereas the Swiss, according to Jung, are really backward, conservative, stiff-necked, self-righteous,

relationship to you and your work is thoroughly alive and kicking. I experienced it strongly as resentment and as an act of revenge for wounded vanity and thus incapable of a real, albeit critical, appreciation of your work—despite the closing remarks, that I immediately sent off a letter to the board in the hope of provoking a reaction. Your circle of friends owes you this at such a time. So this was *before* your and my letters. I had not spoken to you about it so as to leave you completely outside of our defense of you and to allow us to consider completely independently of you how we might respond to this venomous castigation, or whether we should be content to remain silent as you yourself often do.[131] Keyserling's judgment is all the more perfidious as he has attempted to conceal his act of revenge with a number of critical comments on your person and your work, which one can well understand. But here, it is a matter of the fact that such a sentence is passed not out of "ordinary humanity," which is "embarrassing for everyone to bear," but rather comes from the whole man, therefore from his entirety and not from his parts. I recall vividly our mutual visit to Darmstadt[132] when I was still acting as your "bodyguard" there.[133] I also remember Keyserling saying that you and Caspar Badrutt[134] are the only two exemplary Swiss men. But I also recall conversations with Keyserling himself and particularly with Rudolf Kassner,[135] whose very critical assessment of Keyserling should not be forgotten if it comes to a defense in rebuttal of such a riposte out of wounded vanity and revenge.

To return to our relationship: for me, it has suffered from the fact that there has been an imbalance in giving and receiving.[136] This has not impeded my desire to fathom the essence of your life and work as our lives approach their end, and thus to do you great(er) justice in a more profound way, whether through acclaim or critique, than all the sycophantic

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smug, and churlish, and suspicious of outsiders and resist any political interference from outside. "Switzerland is the diametrical opposite of Keyserling's nature," yet "what Keyserling holds against Switzerland is, in the last analysis, its *raison d'être*." Compared with Keyserling's estimate, Jung's is nuanced and humorous.

131 "Our," "us," and "we" perhaps refer to the board of the Psychological Club.

132 Keyserling's Institute in Darmstadt was called a "wisdom school."

133 On a visit to Darmstadt (presumably between 1921 and 1928) Keller evidently defended Jung against Keyserling's attacks. According to Keyserling, Jung always arrived in Darmstadt "with a sort of bodyguard," i.e., with some close associates.

134 Caspar Badrutt (1848–1902) developed various forms of winter sports; in 1884 he built the forerunner of the Cresta run in St. Moritz and ran the Kulm Hotel.

135 Rudolf Kassner (1873–1959), Austrian cultural philosopher.

136 I.e., Keller had felt himself forced into the role of pupil.

attitudes of which the ladies in the Club are capable.[137] If I look back over my life and try to portray its significant influences in my own mind or in an autobiography, then you have your firm place among them, and of course it will remain yours even if I cannot settle in the same location as you and even if you cannot bear such proximity, even though I often long for it. There may be some unfinished business between us in this latest attempt at clarity. But everything has its *Kairos*[138] including, evidently, even this letter.

You recently said in the Club that one could speak directly to someone's archetype or that one could provoke it, or that you could see the archetype in someone. I would like to hear more about this either within the Club or elsewhere. Perhaps you will give me the opportunity for once, so we can encounter each other as the essence of ourselves and not only in wise or critical repartee.

I was sorry that I could not hear your latest paper at the Club, since talking about synchronism leads everyone into the domain where there is space for extreme intuition and a deepest modesty—a synchronicity[139] of a personal kind for which we can perhaps use the simpler word "encounter," even in response to the question of where destinies as such intersect.

I hope you can see from my immediate reaction to Keyserling that my letter or resignation have nothing to do with personal sensitivities or huffishness and that I fundamentally ground myself elsewhere. On the eve of my 79th birthday I have no more time for trivialities or that all too human stuff we cannot manage without.

With warm greetings I am
yours,
Adolf Keller

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[137] Victor White also noticed the sycophantic attitudes: "The horrible impression has come upon me in Zurich (I hope it is wrong) that my dear C. G. has around him only sycophants and flatterers: or people requiring audiences or transferences which no mortal can carry" (White to Jung, 21 May 1955, in *The Jung-White Letters*, p. 273).

[138] *Kairos* (Greek)—the proper, fitting moment in time; the moment of decision.

[139] Synchronicity (Greek/Latin), or meaningful coincidence. Jung described synchronicity as events occurring in relatively close proximity in time that are not linked through causality yet that are discernibly related through a concrete relationship with each other. In contrast, synchronism describes the order of events in time. Cf. CW8.

26 Jung[140]

Pro tem Bollingen, 12 February 1951

Dear friend,

Many thanks for your kind letter! It does me good to hear that you accept my humanity, and I only hope that this is not too difficult for you. The idea that I "abandon" you to the derision of the ladies is a truth that merits closer examination. Do you not think that your responses or your propositions might have something to do with it? The latest and greatest derision that I can recall occurred after your reply to my question about dialogue in Barthian theology, namely who is speaking to whom? This question interested me *firstly* because of my dialogue experiences in active imagination and *secondly* because of the "Colloquiums" in Ignatian exercises.[141] This question was intended thoroughly seriously. The laughter arose at your response for which I am not responsible. I remember no few occasions where there was laughter without my having said anything. It might be advisable to examine closely and rather critically those statements of yours that arouse laughter.

I do not wish to reproach you. But I don't like standing there as the only sinner, conscious of having to accept the indulgent gift of having my sins forgiven. On the other hand, I am fully aware that I am "objectionable" in other regards and difficult to digest, and I am honestly grateful to you that you are not frightened off by this *petra scandali*.[142] As I said, it saddened me very much that you applied my comment to yourself when it was intended self-critically.

I would be very happy to converse with you on any subject close to your heart as I have little opportunity to talk with other men. I have had some friends but they have died. To speak with others, i.e., to speak in such a way that one gets something from it, is therefore very difficult, because they have no relation to my spiritual world and thus feel overextended. In contrast, an inconsequential conversation seems to me to be too wearisome and makes me as tired as if I had undertaken the most laborious work. People make it too difficult for me, for I cannot and will

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[140] L T (Note on letter: sent as handwritten script) 17 960. Jung's emphases in text.

[141] Exercises = four-week spiritual exercises, developed by Ignatius of Loyola, founder of the Society of Jesus. From June 1939 through March 1940, Jung gave seminars on these Exercises of St. Ignatius, as the conclusion to a seminar on the Individuation Process East and West.

[142] Petra scandali (Latin) = stumbling block.

not torture myself with futility. I am always available for something substantial.

However, I have sent Keyserling packing.[143] The few times I have seen him were really not pleasant. He talked me to death for 3–4 hours at a time, and I had to be quite rude when I wanted to interject a brief sentence. If only he were interesting at least! The issue has already appeared in the *Deutschen Merkur*.[144] Any response to it is superfluous. If people wish to view me negatively one must allow them this pleasure.

Your dream is really interesting. It is remarkable that I have bought your land and its gods with your connivance.[145] Through this, I would be in possession of something that is an essential spiritual requirement *for you*. I personally would be uneasy about it if someone else took possession of *my* original world, and with my consent at that. I fear I would develop a certain resentment about it because I could only experience this as a kind of uprooting. This fact is the reason so many men are set against me a priori. It is exactly as if someone had willingly sold to me for a small price a piece of land that did not have much value for him and then I had gone and discovered oil under it. Something like this would irritate me for sure.

And now comes your kind attempt to mount a response in the *Weltwoche*. I would be amazed if it is accepted.[146] Schumacher,[147] who sizes people up for acceptable opinions, belongs to that murky clique involved in journalism. The truth troubles him as little as if he were a communist. I am anathema both to these homosexuals and to Keyserling who is so conceited. These weeds proliferate elsewhere, as you well know.

I hope we will soon have the opportunity for a conversation.

With best wishes,
Yours,
Carl

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[143] See letter 25.

[144] More precisely, *Der Merkur. Deutsche Zeitschrift für europäisches Denken,* has been published monthly since 1947 by the Stuttgart publisher Klett-Cotta.

[145] = tacit permission.

[146] The letter of protest mentioned by Keller in letter 17 (see letter 19) was not published.

[147] Karl von Schumacher (1894–1957), publisher, in 1933 founded the *Weltwoche* journal with Manuel Gasser (1909–1979). Both were widely assumed to be homosexual.

27 Keller[148]

Zurich, 16 February 1951

To the Editor of the *Weltwoche*, Zurich

In the light of your publication of a critical review of C. G. Jung's work and person, bestowed upon us by Count Keyserling in his book,[149] an objective Swiss reader cannot suppress some critical questions to the Editor without himself becoming complicit in a critical evaluation of the issue.

These questions are as follows: why is a Swiss newspaper republishing a foreign author who has been unanimously rejected by the whole of Switzerland for excoriating Switzerland and the Swiss in such a way in *Spektrum Europas*[150] as to demonstrate his complete incompetence to make such an assessment, even if one could not disagree with him on every individual point? Was the Editor seeking to open an objective debate about the judgment of an antidemocratic *grandseigneur* who dared to critique a thoroughly democratic people and their psychological idiosyncrasies, peering down from his elevated heights of a bygone aristocracy?

Or did the Editor wish such a mixture of truth and fiction to speak for itself, loaded as it is with so much resentment, and to illuminate the intrinsic contradiction between the initial massive attack in his article and the tardy praise of his victim? Rather in the style of Rudolf Kassner's criticism of Keyserling?[151]

Or did the Editor wish to jog the memory of the Swiss and recall Keyserling's statement in *Spektrum Europas* where he considered there to be only two model Swiss men, namely the hotelier Kaspar Badrutt and, of all people, his one-time friend Jung, who evidently later told him the truth "for nothing" and thus unleashed the aristocrat's disdainful resentment towards these boorish and impertinent democrats?

Or has the time simply come to assert Jung's part in the contemporary transformation of the world and to discuss this objectively? Even Jung's devotees and friends would not claim to have, as yet, the historical authority to undertake the long and difficult appraisal that this would generate.

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[148] L T 17 611. Keller's letter to the *Weltwoche* was not published, as Jung predicted.
[149] On Keyserling, see letters 25, 26, and 28.
[150] Keyserling was the publisher, see letter 25 above, footnotes 132 and 133, p. 144.
[151] On Kassner cf. letter 25 and footnote 135, p. 145.

If the Editor were to give space to such an investigation, it would also have to account for why a respected German newspaper, the *Zeitwende*,[152] declared on 1 January 1951 that "Jung's impact in today's world is probably more far-reaching than that of any other Swiss." In the meantime I urge the readership of your paper to accept Jung's enigmatic impact and to heed the note of caution given in the admonition to listen to the other side as well.

Respectfully yours,
A. K. [Adolf Keller]

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28 Keller[153]

Zurich, 27 February 1951

Dear friend,

Thank you for taking the time and the trouble to reply to my letter in such detail. Neither of us has the time or the desire to discuss personal problems in lengthy correspondence. Therefore I will not return to the "laughter" nor to the Keyserling affair. These are *minima*, and minima non curat praetor.[154]

However, in order to avoid further misunderstandings and perhaps in preparation for a possible conversation,[155] I would like to make two observations on your letters and ask you to receive them kindly.

1 The first concerns your attitude to your environment and your fellow men overall, particularly to men. Here I could say in your own words: "if people wish to view me negatively, one must allow them this pleasure" Or ad usum Delphini:[156] if you simply keep trying to sum me up with a too succinct and irrelevant theory, prophetically or in a visionary way, I would have to allow you this pleasure also. But it is this refusal to engage with the other, this

[152] *Zeitwende: Kultur, Kirche, Zeitgeschehen,1 January 1951*. Neuendettelsau, Freimund Verlag.

[153] L H 17 618. Keller's emphases.

[154] Minima non curat praetor (Latin) = the judge does not concern himself with trifles.

[155] The conversation was proposed by Jung in letter 26.

[156] Ad usum Delphini (Latin) = for the use of the dauphin, the French heir to the throne. The educators of the prince used to simplify the classical texts for him. Thus: "simplified or rather pithily said!"

accommodation to uniformity when there also exist other ways of seeing the world or ways of living, that creates distance instead of human intimacy. One experiences this in the Club as a particularly fixed resonance, a blend of sycophancy and derision. But "these people would need to look more redeemed!"[157] And more liberated and more human—which does not rule out individuals having developed a remarkable degree of specialist knowledge and intuition. And finally I am not subject to only one system or theory, and find myself with millions of others in an area of life and field of work that has its own value and can expect its own recognition from humanity that is distinctive and viable for me.

2 The second remark concerns your interpretation of my dream. Indeed, my own associations and my own sense of the dream are authoritative here. They do not point in the direction you suggested, neither as far as symbolic content nor affect are concerned. You're introducing something else into it. The purchase did not give me the impression of being dispossessed but rather it gave me joy in a common possession: for your part, by valuing the valley of my youth, which by the way you were not buying off me; for my part it was a joy to me, with a nod to my initiation dream,[158] that out of that inauguration, which might have manifested as an encapturement, a free common possession had emerged. It is your possession in legal and formal law, my possession because the land of my youth belongs to me whether I legally or financially own it or not. I possess it differently, but we are now at home in the same valley. Perhaps you will now come for a summer holiday there, and I will then encounter you more intimately. A further and more strongly intellectually-toned association follows: the Rhine valley is my original "natural theology"! But this is a controversy in theology. Barth rejects it as a foreign body in Christianity. Brunner[159] and I affirm it. The common possession

[157] Keller is referring to Nietzsche's comment about Christians: "They would have to sing better songs for me to learn to have faith in their Redeemer; and his disciples would have to look more redeemed!!" in Friedrich Nietzsche, *Thus Spoke Zarathustra. A Book for All and None*, in Collected Works, Vol. 2. Munich: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1955, p. 350. Jung quotes Nietzsche's comment in a modified form; also see letter 29: "I have no experience of 'redemption' as I have never yet encountered any 'redeemed.'"

[158] On the initiation dream, cf. letter 24 and letters 44 and 69.

[159] Emil Brunner, Professor of Systematic Theology in Zurich, friend of Keller; see I, 3e) and II, "On the letters" above, p. 29 and p. 85 and letters 11 and 68.

of this wooded valley condenses itself for me into a synthesis between paganism and Christianity or gnosis and faith or a theology of creation and a theology of redemption, which is not a syncretism but rather a pair of opposites after a dialectical tension had torn both apart for so long. Nature and spirit, somewhat in the sense of Schelling,[160] who also learnt a thing or two from Böhme.[161] This vision or interpretation also signifies an aspiration, since it is never achieved once and for all, which is more difficult than the domain of a psychological theory and its application.

That we have a *common possession* is also expressed by the fact that the named explosives have not exploded my relationship to the Club or to you.[162] Here I am able to recognize common ground and value, at times even in a positively critical way, and to hold to it even if someone laughs, believing they have the right to accompany my question or critique with derisive claptrap or laughter because they are clueless about other areas of my experience. Therefore since I am not a beggar in the Club, I feel at home there and simply like the people who do this as people, powerfully attached to you and with humor. I would have been interested in the conversation about the recognizabilty of the archetype that you spoke of and also of archetypal automatism.

With warm wishes
Yours,
Ad. Keller

—

29 Jung[163]

Küsnacht, 4 March 1951

Dear friend,

Please forgive me if I trouble you with another unbidden letter. Although I constantly have little time for personal activities I have taken or stolen the necessary time to face my friends. I am no grandseigneur or praetor

[160] Schelling, Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph (1775–1854), German philosopher. He sought to unify mythology and revelation.
[161] On Jacob Böhme cf. I, 1b) footnote 49, p. 10 above.
[162] Keller remained in the *Psychological Club*, cf. letter 25.
[163] L T 17 961 (Note on letter: handwritten). Jung's emphases in text.

qui non curat minora.[164] So, for example, I am not aware that I was "imposing" a theory on *you*. I have only attempted to engage with your dream according to my ability and to draw objective conclusions from the material you gave me yourself.

That is not a theory, but pure practice. Where I might have imposed a theory on you otherwise, I do not know. My very profession would forbid me such a process immediately. From your remarks in section 1[165] of your letter I cannot tell with any clarity whether you meant the particular case of the dream or in a general way. I must therefore assume the latter, since you speak in particular about the dream in section 2.[166] Regarding 1, I would be grateful if you could inform me of which theory I ascribe to you in a "uniform" way. I have never yet encountered a theory that could exhaustively sum up the individual man. That I could even attempt to do justice to an individual in a theory so contradicts all my convictions that I can only experience such an opinion as a grievous reproach. This applies not only to my personal imperfections but also my scholarly responsibility.

Since you are of the opinion that I do not engage with you, you are giving me cause to enlighten you with a further letter and thus to take up your valuable time. I must inform you that I am not able to see any connection between your remark about my arbitrary method in puncto theory on the one hand and the "degree of redemption" or lack of redemption of the Club members and your worldview on the other. I have no experience of "redemption" as I have never yet encountered any "redeemed."[167] I must almost conclude from your remark that you consider "redemption" the goal of my psychotherapy. But that would be a not insignificant error. The truth would be rather the opposite. After all, might one not normally expect some "specialist knowledge" and even "intuition" in a psychological club?

No one is underestimating the significance of your sphere of life and the work you have achieved in it.[168] As everyone can see, our criticism of the contemporary Christian worldview corresponds to an albeit amateurish

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[164] praetor qui non curat minora (Latin)—(he is no) judge who would not concern himself with trifles. Cf. letter 28 and footnote 154, p. 150.

[165] Sub 1 (Latin) = under 1.

[166] Sub 2 (Latin) = under 2.

[167] See letter 28, footnote II, 817. Jung rejected the theology of revelation and with it the theology of redemption, but conversely wished to revive the justification by works discarded by Luther, see I, 3e) and footnote I, 515.

[168] This is the only point in the correspondence where Jung makes reference to Keller's life's work.

but nevertheless burning interest in all religious questions of a Christian and a non-Christian nature. Our Zurich circle is perhaps *the* place where such questions can be discussed most broadly and in the greatest depth. There can be no talk of a lack of acknowledgement of the Christian worldview. For example, if you had been able to stay for the discussion of the Weiss lecture on J. Böhme[169] last night you would have had the best opportunity yet again to assure yourself of our passionate interest in religious questions, particularly Christian, to say nothing of my personal contributions to the psychology of Christianity which exist in print. I must therefore experience this reproach as disconcerting as it is grievous.

No one is claiming that you are to relate only to "one system or theory" or that you are not located in your own sphere of life," or that this is at all invalid. It would be hard to be more convinced of the significance of Christianity than I am. Only, one can be convinced of it *in a different way.*

Re.2[170] It seems to me that you were not clear about my dream analysis technique. I have taken your associations into consideration as far as you shared them with me, and even anticipated the "natural theology." But how one *subjectively* experiences a dream is not relevant in every circumstance. During the Hitler years there were not a few people (and among them quite a few Jews) who to their horror dreamed of him as a confidante or even a lover, and there are very many dreams where precisely what is wholesome works to arouse fear. In consequence one must hold to the objective message of the dream, unconcerned about the subjective reactions of consciousness. This I have done. The fact of the dream is that a piece of land belonging most profoundly to you has passed into my ownership. This is what the dream says as you reported it to me. One thing that has passed into the possession of another, with or without the consent of the former owner, has ceased to be the property of the former owner, whether he is glad about it or not. This case does not apply if it is a matter of a property crime. But in all other cases the conclusion is valid and every interpretation must proceed from this statement unless it is to be purely arbitrary. What this dream statement should communicate to you can be debated, i.e., here your subjective reactions and conscious contents are essential to determine the actual situation that the dream is compensating. Now it is not by far a question of my wishing to force my assumptions on you, as I must read from your reaction. We could simply

[169] Cf. Victor Weiss, *Die Gnosis Jakob Böhmes*, Zurich, Origo-Verlag 1955. Weiss (no biographical details available) was evidently a devotee of Christian Science.

[170] Ad 2. (Latin) = Re: 2.

break off the conversation here for I have no intention of making my presence felt in an unpleasant way. If you assumed that I am "introducing" something into the dream that is not there, namely the legal acquisition of the said land and its logical consequences, then there is no point in talking about the dream, for in your dream report there is nothing about us both being owners at the same time. It must be then that your dream report was not accurate, something which, as you know, can easily happen. In this case my conclusion would obviously be invalid.

I am completely of the view that "natural theology" in this respect forms a point of comparison[171] as it points in a certain sense to what we describe as the unconscious per se, but the disadvantage in this case is that it is based on the prerequisite of faith which cannot be disputed, as you know. As there is no argument here, then there can be no discussion. This latter can only take place on an empirical basis. But faith is now in possession of the sole truth—tant pis pour les faits![172]

You kindly propose speaking about the archetype and what is connected to it. This subject is rather delicate and to be honest I am apprehensive about treating such a difficult and complicated matter when such a simple matter as the reconstruction of a dream statement provokes your mistrust. This danger multiplies itself a hundredfold when you approach the problem of the archetype. For that, a sure footing of a common logic would be needed; otherwise one misunderstanding after another would arise. It seems to me an agreement about your dream would be far more appropriate, for this is a matter of fundamental things that form the prerequisites for all other understanding. What I have to offer rationally about the archetype has all been published, and what one might say further about this would require an argument (which it seems is lacking) about methodological principles.

I have tried in this letter to objectively depict to you my subjective reaction to your communications, in order to communicate to you an exact image of my *Habitus*.[173] From this you will perhaps be able to see why and to what extent I appear unapproachable or even am so. I have engaged in

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[171] Point of comparison.

[172] Tant pis pour les faits! (French.) So much the worse for the facts! On this cf. the philosopher Hegel who claimed, in his habilitation thesis of 1801 in Jena, that there could not be more than seven planets for reasons of principle and philosophy. At the same time an eighth planet—Ceres—was discovered precisely on 1 January 1801! When it was brought to Hegel's attention that his theory was in conflict with the facts, he is supposed to have replied: "So much the worse for the facts."

[173] Habitus (Latin) = my way of being, my character, my approach.

this way with all the others who have turned away from me disappointed or offended (vide[174] Keyserling!). Since this is how I am, I demand and expect from no one that they will engage with me, and I will not force myself on anyone, neither loudly nor quietly. I intend this letter as a clarification of this matter. I will not repeat it; otherwise you would have the right to complain that I am "imposing" something on you that you are not willing to carry.

The actual reason for this letter was triggered by your remark regarding my "daimon" vulgo *possession*.[175] Since you did not mean this in any way as a joke, I must therefore assume that you are of the opinion that I am "possessed by demons." Whether taken literally or psychologically—both occasions signify your theory, or view (this time "imposed" on *me*), *that I find myself in a psychically unfree state of possession*. That is, as anyone would agree, a rather severe thing, which I must append to the two reproaches outlined above as a third and chief judgment. Thus we have the following three points:

1 My scholarly responsibility is called into question. In particular: my competence as an interpreter of dreams is dubious.
2 My failure to recognize, and devaluing of, Christianity, i.e., subjective and megalomaniac[176] pretension.
3 I am charged with a neurotic state of mind, i.e., dissociation, split personality = possession.

Should these allegations be valid, then everyone will certainly concur with you if you find me "unapproachable," and it is really very generous of you that you forgive me my blatant inferiority so magnanimously. However, everyone will also understand if I crawl into the corner and make no claims to friendship where I can at the very most expect forgiving goodness and sympathetic understanding.

I do not argue with your right to accuse me and I make no reproach whatsoever against you. I only dare to point out in all modesty that rebus sic stantibus,[177] I must consider myself an extremely unsuitable partner for a relationship. It is evidently necessary for me, to make use of my own terminology, to refresh not only my scholarly ethic but also my technique, and above all to entrust myself to the skilful hand of an analyst in order

[174] Vide (Latin) = see.

[175] See Keller's letter 6 February 1951 (letter 25). vulgo (Latin) in the vernacular, i.e., in plain language.

[176] Megalomania (Greek.)

[177] Rebus sic stantibus (Latin) = as things stand.

to gain mastery of my most serious disadvantage, namely the fact that I am possessed. I have tried forever and a day—evidently in unsatisfactory ways—to keep the evil spirits from my body. However, I do not wish to be rid of them in such a way as to simply project them onto others. Perhaps you can give me some good advice on this? I am after all so sentimental or pathologically sensitive or buddhistically infected that I do not wish to see them simply fleeing into the swine.[178] I'd feel sorry not only for the poor swine, but also the swineherd and the poor farmer they belong to. I have in fact never understood properly why Jesus forced the poor innocent pigs to suicide rather than taking the evil spirits on his own account. I would have found the latter not only more congenial, but also more comprehensible and dignified. This question, as I have explained it above, is in no way intended as an irreverent critique but as an expression of a vital interest in the questions raised by Christianity. Since my compassion with suffering creation precludes me from the method used by Jesus, I am advised for now to experiment further in my unsatisfactory way with my possession. Perhaps one can *incorporate* demons in order to protect others from them.

In any case possession is a serious hindrance for human relationship. I completely recognize this and am therefore (evidently reprehensibly) reserved in this relationship. In any case I believe that you will understand my distant behavior in the light of my explanation, which is supported by your diagnosis in the most sustained way.

In conclusion I would like to thank you very much for your stimulating and revealing letter.

With best wishes
Your C. G.Jung

—

30 Keller[179]

Zurich, 14 March 1951

Dear friend,

It moves me deeply that you took the trouble to write me such a long, detailed, and most profoundly incisive letter. Forgive me that due to urgent

[178] See Mark 5:1–13.

[179] L H 17613. Keller's emphases in text with a few partly or completely illegible places.

preparation of courses for the Collège d'Europe in Bruges and North German universities I was not able to reply immediately to clear up some misunderstandings.[180]

You experience a growing distance in our correspondence—*I* experience it as a paradoxical expression of an *intimacy*. This is possible only when we are able not only "to agree to disagree" about particulars, but we together, each from his own location, try to discover the other's position within the greater whole, for example, in the current of contemporary cultural awareness.

This is my constant position in relation to you. We are both approaching the end of our lives—in the last two months I have lost eight friends and would be loathe to lose another one, not through the final unavoidable loss, but principally due to misunderstandings and misinterpretation. I therefore *appeal* a male informato ad melius informandum.[181]

It is doubtful to me whether these misinterpretations are to be allayed by correspondence, and I would have preferred to have attempted it in a face-to-face meeting, provided that the will to understand is not unduly influenced by complexes, both of us knowing that we both are *contained in a whole* that reveals itself to us only dialectically, and that we can therefore comprehend it only dialectically, i.e., in contrasting antitheses.

Then it should become evident that this debate and the dream belong *not only* in the personal biographical domain but lie within a broader struggle to find our place in a totality that belongs to both of us, thus a historical, cultural philosophical and religious whole.

Now to the main two misunderstandings.

1. The interpretation of my dream does not have, even to your mind, the sense that the purchase is a *dispossession*. Your acquisition signifies an intimacy, a common possession. For you do not buy it from me, since the land does not belong to me, but apparently to the community. In this way I was already in possession of it and am not losing it, for I possess the "Ramse," the god of spring, the Gächelstone,[182] as the land of my youth in a soulful, spiritual way and am not giving it away, but *you* are entering more closely into

[180] On Keller's lectures in Germany see letters 18 and 24.

[181] A male informato ad melius informandum (Latin) = from the badly informed to the one to be better informed: an allusion to a sentence attributed to Ulrich von Manderscheid, archbishop of Trier (1430–1436): Appello a papa male informato ad papam melius informandum (Latin) = I appeal from the badly informed pope to the pope to be better informed.

[182] On Ramse, the god of spring, and the Gächelstone, cf. letters 24–26 and 28–29.

> this ownership out of joy and we now have it in common: I by birth and feeling, and you thanks to this purchase, although the actual nature of the acquisition was not emphasized.

This can be perceived from the dream experience, even in the dream itself. Then came the subsequent ever deepening meaning that we share a common *natural theology,* something I used to rather doubt before reading your latest books. This "purchase" or acquisition is therefore not a *loss* for me, but facilitates a common possession. Finally *I* myself have the key in my associations and affects (you yourself have always stressed that the dreamer is the ultimate interpreter, even in a discussion, "it must click" for him), and I perceive a different interpretation as a lexical and conceptual import, in fact as an "imposition." The *outcome* of this dream phenomenon is what is emphasized, not the *act of buying* itself. This outcome is a pleasing commonality that eliminates an earlier opposition, specifically where an earlier hasty subclause of the theory about a situation was active, as out of the feeling that you perhaps often made fun of me, maybe from a complex-laden opposition to the Protestant minister (you treat Catholicism with benevolent critical understanding, but the Protestant minister mostly with scorn or irony,[183] which these gentleman often give you occasion to do for sure). Of itself, I don't mind this occasionally, if it does not become a generalized habit.[184] So there is also a striking *joyful affect* in the dream because, with the common property of the "Ramse," i.e., of nature, an old opposition comes to an end; we might say, for example, even theologically, that the contrast is resolved between *natural theology* and *revelation theology*, for this has its place alongside the former, despite Barth.

Incidentally I have *never* confused psychotherapy with *redemption,* and in using the word I was alluding more to Nietzsche's comment,[185] thus rather to an impression than a theory.

It would never occur to me to trivialize your *immense knowledge* and your experience—I am astounded by it, but it does not take away the freedom of my own critical judgment. And your undeniable *humility towards the transcendent* would also prohibit me from placating myself once and for all with an αὐτὸς ἔφα [*autos epha*].[186]

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[183] On Jung's correspondence with the Dominican Victor White, see II "On the Letters," above p. 94.

[184] Habitus (Latin) here = habit.

[185] See letter 28 and footnote 157 on p. 151, p. 42.

[186] On αὐτὸς ἔφα autos [epha] cf. letter 19, footnote 96 on p. 135.

I clearly see the newly awakened interest in *Christianity*, and it can also be seen in this synthetic dream. But this does not prevent me from seeing the Pauline difference between πίστις [*pistis*][187] and γνῶσις [*gnōsis*],[188] between κήρυγμα [*kērygma*][189] and psychological exploration or religious understanding. This is the place where all Christian theology, if it is not simply carrying on about the psychology of religion or religious history, will still say *regardless of what we share in common:* Καὶ ἔτι καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ὁδὸν ὑμῖν δείκνυμι [And I will show you a still more excellent way].[190]

This shared possession has emerged as a greater thing than I thought, as I was not only rebelling against the father,[191] as you were yourself, but also against any *purported* psychologizing of the transcendent.

I well understand when you warn against the "*subjective reactions* of consciousness." Not only did this, my inner experience of the dream, have little to do with the subsequent subjective reactions, but also in my unconscious it was already going in the direction towards which my subjective associations were also pointing. You interpret the dream succinctly as a *dispossession*. But the sentence that *I* (i.e., the dream) use to express myself, just as succinctly, was: Jung wishes *to settle down* in the Ramse with us. No sum of money was mentioned, nor an act of purchase or "legal acquisition," nor the owner, and I am not even sure if the word *purchase* was originally used, or was only elucidated as a secondary explanation.

The second *misunderstanding* is the interpretation of the *daimonic* as possession. What you say here shifts what was said into a completely new sphere than the one in which it arose. I was using *daimon* in the sense that Goethe used the word, even penning a particular poem ΔΑΙΜΩΝ [*DAIMŌN*] about it—I believe it was in "West-East Divan." Goethe[192] is often called a

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[187] Πίστις [pistis] (Greek) = faith, trust.

[188] Γνῶσις [gnōsis] (Greek) = knowledge..

[189] Κήρυγμα [kērygma] (Greek) = message

[190] Καὶ ἔτι καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ὁδὸν ὑμῖν δείκνυμι [kai eti kath' hyperbolēn hodon hymin deïknymi] (Greek) = (1. Cor. 12:31).

[191] On Jung's and Keller's fathers see above I, 1a) and I, 1b), p. 4 and p. 9.

[192] Goethe, *West East Divan* (collection of 1819); Keller may also be recalling Hafiz (Persian poet, d. 1389) in the *Divan*, which among other things raises the question of the relation between poetry and religion, and where in "Complaint" Hafiz calls himself one "who only ever deals in madness" (21, v.9). It is more likely that Keller was remembering Goethe's poem ΔΑΙΜΩΝ, Daimon: Primal Words, Orphic:

> As stood the sun to the salute of planets Upon the day that gave you to the earth,
> You grew forthwith, and prospered, in your growing
> Heeded the law presiding at your birth.

daimonic spirit himself, not in the sense of the demoniac from the French which does not give the German meaning of daimonic at all, whereas English also differentiates between demoniac = possessed and "daimonic" = demonic in the sense that man experiences powers of creative energy or Eros, for example, which for good or ill are simply stronger than one's rational being, or which in the broad religious domain are experienced as numinous awe, such as is also found in שדק [*qādōsch*][193] (see also Moses being overwhelmed by Yahweh). Thus the English "awe" as a reaction to this ambivalent numinosum. Even Keyserling calls his "primal forces" the daimons whose activity he as a "Cosmopath" brings into connection with his "progressive spiritualization." I do not mean any parallel with K by this, but am simply using this word in *meliorem partem*.[194]

The "*charges*" that you bring against me are thus invalid and in no way intended as "reproaches," but almost as an inkling of a power that is yours and precludes any familiarity. I was not thinking for one minute of demon possession in its pejorative sense, and it was only your interpretation that raised the question of what might be going on, since you then spoke of the exorcism of the demons into the swine. This association was yours, not mine.

To summarize the 3 points:

Re 1. Your competence as an interpreter of dreams is not in question, but our correspondence does raise the question, which you yourself leave open, whether a dream can be interpreted from a text or in fact only within a genuine, shared analysis. All the same, your undisputed authority will surely allow for critical debate and maybe a different opinion, perhaps arising from imprecision or false premises or perhaps complexes.

Sibyls and prophets told it: You must be
none but yourself, from self you cannot flee
No time there is, no power, can decompose
The minted form that lives and living grows.

(Goethe, *Selected Poems* Vol.1, ed. Christopher Middleton. Princeton: Princeton U.P., 1994, ll. pp. 1–8).

[193] שדק [qādōsch] (Hebr.) = holy (in allusion to Exodus 4: 24–26).

[194] In meliorem partem (Latin) = in keeping with the better possibilities. A principle of Roman law: to give the benefit of the doubt (Latin) = (i.e., in favor of the accused).

Re.2 / Re: "Failure to recognize and undervaluing of Christianity and megalomaniac[195] pretensions." No—this was not to be found in my differentiation of πίστις [*pistis*][196] and γνῶσις [*gnōsis*].[197] Such opposites can also be stages of growth. You once said to me that if someone comes to you with a *proclamation from above,* instead of with his experience, then you give him a kick in the stomach. Would you today also reject in this way what we theologians call kerygmatic?[198] Fundamentally my dream is about the joy I had experienced the preceding night as I *read* your book *Gestaltungen*.[199] I read on the *previous evening,* for example, "where Goethe etc. weaves the motif of the eternal feminine into the fabric of Faust."[200] Then, for example, in paragraph 157[201] where the poet is construed as an instrument. As I fell asleep this whole beautiful page, as well as paragraphs 216–218[202], gave me the blissful feeling that you are related to greater things than merely rational gleanings, to the numinosum. In connection with this an insight intimates that this is influential for your bearing not on Christianity but on Christ. During my reading I wrote this in my routine notes and recalled something else that I have already quoted as confirmation of the message. I read paragraph 222ff,[203] your chapter about "possession" for the first time today, where I paused. Even in your recent remark about clever-dumb gossip I found a certain *humility* and *humanity* despite the alleged reference to me, as well as in places from the Transference, thus in fact a "*settling down*" in the Ramse, of which the dream speaks. The psychological, religio-historical, Gnostic way of seeing even Christ is for me a precursor of that most inward sanctuary of a faith relationship, according to the words of Luther and his

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[195] megalomaniac (Greek).

[196] Cf. above in the same letter and footnote 187 on p. 160.

[197] Cf. above in the same letter and footnote 188 on p. 160.

[198] Kerygmatic (Greek) = the proclamatory, (keryx [Greek]- herald, messenger.

[199] Jung, *Configurations of the Unconscious*. Jung's "Foreword" appears in CW 18, paras. 1245–1247; the contents include "Psychology and Literature" (CW 15), and "Concerning Rebirth," "A Study in the Process of Individuation," and "Concerning Mandala Symbolism" (all in CW 9.i), and Aniela Jaffé's study of Hoffmann's "Der goldene Topf."

[200] Goethe ends *Faust*, Part 2 with the words of the mystic chorus: "Das Ewig-Weibliche / Zieht uns hinan [The eternal feminine / draws us on]" Goethe, Hamburger Ausgabe, Bd. 3, 12. Aufl. 1982, p. 364, ll. 12,110. Cf. CW15, paras. 132– 162.

[201] CW15, para. 157.

[202] CW9.i, paras. 216–218.

[203] CW9.i, paras. 222ff

antecedents: "*Christum cognoscere est ejus beneficia cognoscere!*"[204] This difference would become clear if you were ever to write a psychology of faith, but in the sense of πίστις [*pistis*], which means not only acceptance or knowledge or credulousness, thus not notitia, but rather assensus and fiducia.[205]

Re 3: I reject as a misunderstanding this interpretation of my remark about daimonie; see above. The whole tenor of these "reproaches," which *I am not making*, takes no account of the joy in the dream and my memory of reading your book, which, as I read it, let me feel greater intimacy, humanity, and Christianity than ever before, both on the previous evening and more generally recently, so that we might speak of a "settling down" in the Ramse without any legel or financial emphasis.

You seem to want to *renounce my friendship*. That is quite unilateral and I am unwilling to take part in it. I am distressed that you think I am capable of arrogance in a thoroughly constructively critical debate in which I show no condescension but am exercising my freedom and clearly showing you the honor and esteem that I offer to an initiator and psychopioneer who initiated me into mysteries such that I will remain bound to him my whole life, whatever befalls. Even when his human willingness and intimacy do not come my way. Yet I must retract this word right away, since your long letter proves quite the opposite. You are hurt and therefore bitter. I had no intention of hurting you or even of lecturing you. We don't have enough time left for that now. And even if you were right I would assume that your greatness and your knowledge of the inner dialectic of the opposites would enable you to meet even an errant or inadequate adept with understanding and insight in such a quaternity-full humanity.

Much remains unsaid. I cannot ask such an extensive correspondence from you. Whether my reply will make possible a desired meeting, I must leave to you. I am now as always in undiminished respect and friendship

Your Adolf Keller

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[204] Hoc est Christum cognoscere, beneficia ejus cognoscere, non . . . ejus naturas. (Latin) = To know Christ is to know his benefits not his nature. This famous sentence opposing purely theoretical theological speculation originates in the *Loci Communes* (1521) by Luther's colleague Philipp Melanchthon. Cf. Philipp Melanchthon, *Loci communes* 1521, Latin-German, published by Horst Georg Pöhlmann, 2nd rev. ed., Gütersloh: Mohn, 1997, p. 22.

[205] Notitia, assensus, fiducia (Latin) = knowledge, assent, trust/faith.

31 Jung[206]

[Küsnacht, a few days before 21] March 1951

Dear friend,

I am sincerely grateful to you for your comprehensive reply. It communicated a much clearer picture in many respects, not least about your dream, which now appears in greater clarity. I now have an approximate sense of which conscious situation it is compensating. You really must not assume that I do not value your friendship. It's precisely because I do value it that I tried to explain to you in broad detail what was irking me. Your letter helps me to understand where the difficulties in transmission lay. Thus, for example, the question of the purchase (in your dream) was by no means an interpretation, but rather an attempt to determine the fact of the dream. The attempt has evidently backfired, for there appears to be neither a transaction nor an assignment of rights of any kind present. According to your portrayal, the dream appears essentially to rehearse your feelings before going to sleep. Since this occurrence is rather unusual, one tends to proceed cautiously[207] with dreams like this. It's not unlikely that such dreams also have a meaning as yet unknown. I do not rule that out in this case.

When taken literally, "daimonic" is certainly a harmless word, but on the other hand, psychologically that's not the case. Would one describe someone[208] who ploughed his field diligently and carefully as "daimonic?" It reeks suspiciously of the Middle Ages, where doubtless I would have ended up in a dungeon or burnt at the stake. For this reason, I am uneasy about theology and church, for they always operate from a "higher calling" against which there can be no appeal.

What you perceive as complex-ridden resistance to Protestantism is for me an admittedly violent critique of the same, for it's not where I'd want it to be. Now that the Catholic Church has taken the momentous step of the Assumption,[209] Protestantism has been all the more nailed down to the patriarchal line of the Old Testament and has fallen behind as regards

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[206] L H 17 962a, Jung's emphases. (The letter survives in the form of two handwritten and several typewritten copies. Excerpts from the letter are included in C. G. Jung, *Letters* II, 9f., dated 20 March 1951.

[207] Painfully, here in the sense of "with caution."

[208] That is, a typical person.

[209] Assumptio (Latin) = assumption. This refers to the dogma of the bodily assumption of Mary into heaven, pronounced by Pope Pius XII in 1950. Cf. *Answer to Job*, CW11.

dogmatic development. The Catholic at least believes in continuing revelation, but the Protestant considers himself bound to an "oh so contradictory" document as the Bible, and consequently cannot move forward but only retrench—*vide*[210] the famous "demythologizing" of Christianity![211] As if statements about salvation history were only myths! *God always speaks mythologically*. If this were not true, he would reveal reason and science. I oppose the *backwardness* of Protestantism. I don't want it give up its leading position.[212] I don't want to go back to the unconscious fog of Catholic concretism, therefore I also battle against Protestant concretism in historicity and the abstractness of the Protestant message, which today can only be understood as a historical remnant. If Christ means anything to me, it is only as a *symbol*.[213] As a historical figure he might just as well be called Pythagoras,[214] Lao-tze,[215] Zarathustra,[216] etc. I find the historical Jesus completely unedifying, simply interesting because controversial.

I say this so that you'll know where I stand. I'd be happy if despite this you want to talk with me. If you can find time for it, I'm willing.[217]

Once again many thanks for your considerate letter, full of goodwill,

Your [Carl]

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[210] Vide (Latin) = see.

[211] In his lecture *The New Testament and Mythology* of 1941 the Marburg New Testament scholar, Rudolf Bultmann (1884–1976) had presented his program of demythologization of the Bible that was discussed intensively after the war. Mythological contents of the Bible (e.g., the virgin birth or the ascension) were, he argued, existential, i.e., they should be interpreted as statements about human existence. Jung was critical of this "liberal" reinterpretation of the Bible even much earlier in his *Zofingia Lectures* (CW supplementary volume A. Princeton: Princeton U. P., 1983), see above, I, 1b). Cf. also letter 32.

[212] See Jung's correspondence with the Dominican Victor White above in II, "On the Letters," above, p. 94.

[213] Jung writes in *Aion*: "Christ exemplifies the archetype of the Self." And with St. Augustine he says (after summarizing the individuation process): "'Our end must be our perfection; but our perfection is Christ.'" *Aion*, CW 9ii, paras. 70 and 72.

[214] Pythagoras = ancient Greek philosopher.

[215] Lao-tze = ancient Chinese philosopher.

[216] Zarathustra = ancient Iranian prophet and founder of the Zoroastrian religion.

[217] Jung's obliging tone goes along with his practical acknowledgement of Keller's interpretation, that the dream reveals a deepseated common spiritual foundation. In 1945 Jung had written: "It is not possible, except under very special conditions, to work out the meaning of a dream without the collaboration of the dreamer." See Jung, "On the Nature of Dreams," CW 8, para. 533.

32 Keller[218]

Zurich, 21 March 1951

Dear friend,

Your reply was a real joy to me. First, because we're no longer encountering each other in the twilight of various misunderstandings. Second, because it's possible to have a real and thorough discussion of the problems. Third, because you show me humanity and friendship that I could not bear to do without.

Finally, because this letter helps me in my efforts to find our cultural and religious meeting place, as well as the place that befits you not only in our small circle but in today's cultural history and psychology of religion, thus on the high cliffs of Eschaton,[219] as Spitteler says, where one gazes down onto the meontic[220] realm or into the infinite ocean.

Most of all I want to ask straightaway when we might see each other. I'm away for a few days over Easter, either to Château Muzot or the Untersee, both places always especially amenable to introversion. Not only a living and working tower, but an inner castle.[221] So with this letter I am preparing for our forthcoming conversation. I may need goodwill more than you do and therefore find my letter not quite up to that characterization.[222]

Regarding the dream itself, I'd like to ask whether a dream in every circumstance must always have a compensatory function. In general for sure, but aren't some dreams simply descriptive, showing as it were an

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[218] L T 17 614. Jung closely read the letter and evidently with interest: as the original shows, he marked the last part of paragraph 4 with a line in the margin, alongside the fifth paragraph next to "Daimonie," and he inserted two exclamation marks and a question mark next to the sixth paragraph (demythologizing). Further he underlined some words in the fourth, fifth, and sixth paragraphs, and in the seventh paragraph the words "Is there," "there is," and "he gives."

[219] The high cliffs of Eschaton (eschaton [Greek.] = the last, the ultimate) appears in the fifth song by Carl Spitteler (1845–1924) in his epic poem *Olympian Spring* of 1905. Cf. CW6, para. 325.

[220] Meontic, English, from me on (Greek) = not/being, or nonbeing: a concept in the tradition of Jakob Böhme. It concerns the abyss of nothingness. Cf. above I, 1b) and following.

[221] Castillo interiòr (Spanish) = interior castle into which one sinks in order to find God, allusion to Teresa of Avila (1515–1582) and her book *The Interior Castle—The Mansions* (*Las moradas del castillo interiòr*) of 1577. See letter 12. At Muzot a church and vicarage are situated in the ruins of a Roman castle on the mountainside; see , p. 93 and p. 128. I, 1a).

[222] At the end of letter 31 Jung strikingly wrote of Keller's letter being "full of goodwill."

impulse towards form and expression, which consciousness perhaps cannot yet summon. Or they have a mirror function to move consciousness towards an opinion. Or a prophetic function, as the pure scent of some imminent arrival. Of course compensation can work in all of these. In the case of my dream, I sense a compensation for the refusal to settle down in a purely theological domain. The dream responds to this with a settling into or dwelling in the area of natural theology, as a forecourt or prolegomenon to genuine theology. As you say, something else can be behind it. Perhaps the demon's temptation. He cannot be conquered through flight, but instead through intimacy and dwelling, the struggle with the angel.[223]

Yet through this we actually get closer to your understanding of daimonie, which was not present at all for me in the dream or the letter. In this sense the dream has nothing daimonic about it, whereas the conscious letter stirred up this element, though not in the sense of being possessed, but a psychic overpowering that cannot be withstood rationally or through experience, therefore in Goethe's positive or at least ambivalent usage, or that δεισιδαιμονία [*deïsidaimonia*][224] which Paul invokes on the Areopagus.[225] Is this the "higher calling" you speak of "which gives you the creeps?" If so, this would seem to me to cross the boundary into psychology, which as Flournoy said[226] is not concerned with the transcendent, either positively nor negatively, but whose existence or effect it does not simply reject because there is no appeal against it. In terms of religious experience, and so not only psychological debate, being overwhelmed by a *numinosum* concedes absolutely no right to appeal. A[227] purely autonomous humanism cannot go that far.

Your "violent critique of Protestantism" is thoroughly comprehensible to me, and indeed I engage in it myself. The historical current, or the contingency of events, simply does not always flow "where we would wish." Protestantism, however, is not to be nailed to a mere reliance on the Bible. Even Karl Barth wouldn't do that. He would even oppose Bultmann's program of demythologizing.[228] However, to locate God's revelation only in

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[223] Allusion to Jacob's wrestling with an angel or with God. Genesis 32: 23–33.

[224] Δεισιδαιμονία [deïsidaimonia] (Greek) = fear of God, religiosity. Cf. Acts of the Apostles 17:22 and 25:19.

[225] Cf. Acts of the Apostles 17:22.

[226] Cf. Théodore Flournoy (1902/1903a), *Les principes de la psychologie religieuse*. (Principles of religious psychology) London:Williams and Norgate. Cf. I, 1a) and I, b) above and also I, 2b), p. 35.

[227] In the original "No" by mistake.

[228] See letter 31 and footnote 211, p. 165.

the mythological seems to me to limit God's freedom.[229] In large part, contemporary theological discussion takes place in the arena where one asks whether the kingdom God intervenes in history, or whether God is also at work historically as well as mythologically.[230]

I'm pleased by what you expect from Protestantism. Even though today the Christological principle pervades it, including the Old Testament, nonetheless it is moving perhaps as a whole towards a "religion of the spirit," not towards a Christ-based religion. The symbolic meaning of Christ need not preclude a historic and eschatological meaning. For the whole Greek Orthodox Church the παντοκράτωρ [*pantokratōr*][231] is not a symbol but rather the anticipated breakthrough of the transcendent, therefore an event, not an awareness. This touches once again on the Pauline differentiation of πίστις [*pistis*] and γνῶσις [*gnōsis*].[232] Much more could be said about this. Precisely where psychological effort is to be made, in the contemporary state of mind and in theology, is significant for Christianity and Protestantism as a whole. These are fertile questions that acquire significance for all who can still move. This is our particular need today, since our former totality, whether history or system, is broken, as in the *I Ching*,[233] and the new totality is still nowhere to be found, which means it is still nascent. Karl Barth once described this dynamic moment very well

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[229] Keller was opposed to both Bultmann's radical demythologizing as well as a perpetuation of mythological statements in the Bible in a literal sense.

[230] The ecumenical movement in which Keller was active, lay precisely along this line of the both-and.

[231] Παντοκράτωρ [pantokratōr] (Greek) = Ruler over all, cf. e.g., Apocalypse 1:8.

[232] Πίστις [pistis] (Greek) = Faith, γνῶσις [gnōsis] (Greek) = Knowledge.

[233] *I Ching*, *the "Book of Changes*," is a collection of hexagrams and related sayings. It is the oldest of the classical Chinese texts and is used as an oracle. Jung and Keller were familiar with the edition by the theologian and Sinologue Richard Wilhelm (1873–1930), *I Ching. The Book of Changes* (Jena: Eugen Diederichs Verlag, 1924). The publication of the first translation into German made a world-wide impact. In 1948 Jung wrote a detailed foreword to the American translation of 1950 (trans. Cary Baynes) in CW 11, paras. 964–1018, where he leads off by saying that "a foreword to the *Book of Changes* from my hand must be a testimonial of my individual experience with this great and singular book" (para 964). Among the four hexagrams that emerged in his conversation with the book, he concluded from hexagram 29, K'an THE ABYSMAL (with his casting of a 6 at line 3:"Forward and backward, abyss on abyss. / In danger like this, pause at first and wait"), that he would land "in the midst of the dangers of limitless and uncritical speculation; otherwise one really will lose one's way in the darkness" (paras 1002–1003), thus confirming his initial aim of "limiting myself in this foreword to a demonstration of how the *I Ching* functions in the Chinese mind" (para 1006). Cf. also above I, 2g), footnote 183, p. 50 and letter 65 with footnote 483 p. 216.

when he was asked: Does such a thing as religious assurance exist? Barth replied: There is no religious assurance—He gives religious assurance.[234]

This is the event, graspable not just in its outcome or in the anticipatory symbol but only in the event itself, for which πίστις [*pistis*][235] perhaps possesses a better function than gnosis. Looking forward to seeing you soon, with warm greetings,

Your, Adolf Keller

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33 Keller[236]

Zurich, 22 March 1951

Dear friend,

A short postscript to my letter and as a prolegomena to our conversation.

The question about where Christianity and depth psychology might encounter and enrich each other, both intellectually and culturally, has been occupying me for some time. Freud must of course be excluded, due to his illusion theory. With Jung there are possibilities for dialogue and points of connection or landing, as one now says. These are not only the points I mentioned in the Jung book.[237] It is more significant, on the one hand because you have become more "Christian," and also because such points can be confirmed historically and apocryphally. Finally, [it matters] because Christianity leaves space for the kingdom of shadows and demons

[234] According to information from Dr. Hans-Anton Drewes of the Karl Barth archive in Basel, this concerns a "secondary, thoroughly appropriate summary of a genuine Barthian thought." Drewes recalls a phrase in the *Christlichen Dogmatik im Entwurf,* with which Adolf Keller was familiar: "The church appeals through its preaching for the favor of the one sole authority, truth and power. It does not say through its preaching: 'There is one God, this one God,' but it says: 'This one God acts, *he gives his word*'" (Karl Barth, *Die christliche Dogmatik im Entwurf*, GA 14. Zurich: 1982, p. 59). A parallel can be found in Barth's sermon: "No, this thing does not exist as such, it is he who gives it!'" (Karl Barth, Sermons 1921–1935, GA 31. Zurich: 1998, p. 390.) Cf. letter 21 and footnote II, 766.

[235] Πίστις [*pistis*] (Greek) = faith.

[236] L H 17 615

[237] Keller, "Analytische Psychologie und Religionsforschung," in *Die kulturelle Bedeutung der komplexen Psychologie*, 1935, Festschrift for Jung's 60th birthday. See above I, 3d), p. 76 and appendix. Allusion to the argument between Barth and Brunner about the point of connection. Cf. Frank Jehle, Emil Brunner, pp. 293–321.

and the "fourth,"[238] due to its pessimism and concept of sin, even if this is found more among the heretics than in the mainstream.[239]

The question of such an encounter is a great cultural and religious problem that presents itself in analogies, thus in a new dialogue, e.g., with Gnosticism, mysticism, Montanism,[240] and the Greek system of thought, namely in dogma, which Harnack construed as a "conception of the Greek spirit on the ground of the gospel."[241]

The entire territory of these points of connection rests on conscious soil, *even* behind the dream. I perceived the difficulty of a fruitful encounter [with you] especially in the doctrine of quaternity, which would require an interpretation and adaptation, perhaps along the lines of Böhme[242] and Schelling;[243] in the difference between πίστις [*pistis*] and γνῶσις [*gnōsis*];[244] and then in the purely symbolic understanding of Christ. Christianity will always object to Christ as symbol: λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο [*logos sarx egeneto*],[245] thus the realism of the Christian doctrine of revelation, hence a rejection of Docetism.[246] Particularly all Anglicans, whose chief dogma is the incarnation,[247] being taught on the one hand historically-individually and on the other as an ongoing historical process of incarnation, also like the Orthodox Church as a counterpart to their θεοποίησις [*theopoiēsis*][248] of man. In contrast to this defense, from this perspective the dream reveals

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[238] I.e., of the devil, cf. Jung's theory of quaternity, in which the devil, along with the feminine principle or "theotokos," i.e., the mother of God, is incorporated as a 4th principle into a quaternity that embraces the trinity. See Jung's "A Psychological Approach to the Dogma of the Trinity" (1948), where he considers "quaternity" in detail. He illustrates it with Indian and Greek concepts, Iranian dualism, medieval depictions of the coronation of Mary, the Catholic doctrine of the assumption of Mary, and the psychological experience of "good" and "evil" (CW 11, "Conclusion," paras. 286ff). See also Jung's Terry Lectures of 1937, *Psychology and Religion* of 1937 (Yale U. P./Oxford U. P.,1938; Rascher, 1940), I, 3d).

[239] I.e., in the official churches, in mainstream theology.

[240] Montanism, an enthusiastic Christian movement in Asia Minor, founded by the prophet Montanus (second half of the second century).

[241] It is the main argument of the then epoch-making textbook of the history of Christian dogma (three volumes, published 1886–1890) written by Keller's Berlin teacher Adolf von Harnack (1851–1930). He claimed that Christian dogma developed on the foundation of Hellenism and therefore was not true to the original gospel of Jesus of Nazareth.

[242] Böhme's view: cf. footnote 49 on p. 10.

[243] Schelling's view: cf. letter 28, footnote 160 on p. 152.

[244] Πίστις [*pistis*] and γνῶσις [*gnōsis*] (Greek) = Faith and Gnosis / Knowledge.

[245] (ὁ) λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο [(ho) *logos sarx egeneto*] (Greek) = the Word became flesh (John 1:14).

[246] Docetism claims that Jesus was not fully human but had only an apparent body.

[247] Incarnation (Latin) = becoming flesh, i.e., God becoming man (according to John 1:14).

[248] Θεοποίησις [theopoiēsis] (Greek) = apotheosis.

the location of a direct encounter in the domain of natural theology, therefore of Christian anthropology. Thus the question is posed in this way: how does natural theology relate to the theology of revelation or to a theology of proclamation, to one of real transcendence etc. Even the mysteries cannot get by without proclamation—κήρυγμα [*kērygma*][249]—at the very least God's name had to be mysteriously proclaimed. This is the theological frontline. The psychological one lies, of course, elsewhere.

With warm greetings,
Your Adolf Keller

—

34 Jung[250]

[Küsnacht], Easter Monday [26 March] 1951

Dear friend,

At the end of this week I am going to Bollingen for the month of April, where I have all sorts of work to take care of. This week is therefore still available, should you be back. Many thanks for your two letters! They are teeming with questions and possible misunderstandings that we can probably clear up only in face-to-face conversation. Otherwise I'd have to write entire treatises. The only comment I'd like to make now is that I've not become more "Christian," but rather that only now do I feel more or less able to proffer something on the psychology of Christianity. *Dreams* can be many things, but we have only *one* theoretical requirement for their explanation. The scientific axiom "principia explicandi non sunt multiplicanda praeter necessitatem"[251] must be taken very seriously. We must therefore try to get as far as possible with the theory of compensation.

The typus of the *quaternity*[252] is an empirical fact, *not a doctrine*. Like so many other ways of seeing, until now Christianity has had 4 metaphysical

[249] Κήρυγμα [kērygma] (Greek) = message, proclamation.

[250] L M 17 964 (Note: sent as handwritten), Jung's emphases. This letter is reproduced in *C. G. Jung: Letters* II, pp. 217–218.

[251] This refers to William of Occam's (around 1285–1347) so-called basic rule of scientific research ("Occam's razor"): "Entia non sunt multiplicanda praeter necessitatem [or] sine necessitate." (Latin) = "entities must not be multiplied beyond necessity." In practice this means "that among competing hypotheses that predict equally well, the one with the fewest assumptions should be selected." Cf. CW8.

[252] Cf. letter 33 and footnote 238, p. 170 and Jung's Yale lectures, see above I, 3d), p. ■, footnotes 94 and 95, p. 80.

figures, namely the trinity + πύρινος θεὸς ἀριθμῷ τέταρτος [a fiery God, the fourth by number].[253] The unconscious prefers to express itself in fours, with no regard to Christian tradition. Quaternity is found in the Old Testament, as well as being Egyptian. Vishnu[254] has four faces, etc. Natural theology must recognize the fact, otherwise it cannot make any impact on psychology. Quaternity is not a doctrine up for discussion, but a fact, to which even dogmatics is inferior, ut supra demonstravimus.[255]

The "incarnatio Dei"[256] doesn't communicate anything comprehensible to modern man, so σὰρξ ἐγένετο [became flesh][257] must be translated, for better or for worse, as for example, "has assumed a certain empirical form." This formula would destroy any bridge to psychology.

Meanwhile best wishes,
Your [Carl]

—

35 Keller[258]

Zurich, 6 April 1951

Dear friend,

I hope you have now recovered[259] once again and that you are taking proper care of yourself. If we, at our age, are to learn to die in due course, now that so many others have had to leave us, it is vital that what we still have to say really gets said, and you still have much to say.

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[253] Πύρινος [θεὸς] ἀριθμῷ τέταρτος [pyrinos theos arithmō tetartos] (Greek) = a fiery God, the fourth by number. According to Jung's *Aion, Researches into the Phenomonology of the Self,* Routledge, 1959, CW 9: II para. 325, this quotes from the polemic by Hippolytus of Rome (who died around 235) against the Gnostics, *Refutatio omnium haeresium, Refutation of All Heresies* (Book V, Chapter II) Translated by J. H. MacMahon. From Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. 5. Edited by A. Roberts, J. Donaldson and A. Cleveland Coxe (Buffalo, NY, CLP Co., 1886). Revised and edited for New Advent by K. Knight: "the Demiurge of this creation, Ialdabaoth, a fiery God, a fourth number." Jung commented on this text thus: "The 'fourth' refers to the fourth Person—the devil—who is opposed to the Trinity, to the devil. Ialdabaoth means 'child of chaos;' hence when Goethe, borrowing from alchemical terminology, calls the devil, 'the strange son of chaos,' the name is a very apt one" (ibid.).

[254] Vishnu = Indian God.

[255] Ut supra demonstravimus (Latin) = as we have shown above.

[256] Incarnatio Dei (Latin) = the incarnation of God.

[257] Σὰρξ ἐγένετο [sarx egeneto] (Greek.) = became flesh. (John. 1:14.)

[258] L T 17 617.

[259] Nothing more is known about Jung's "fever." A letter has possibly gone astray.

And even our recent correspondence has shown me new perspectives on this. Indeed, just now I too am rather shaky as I fell down some stairs and tore a tendon. By the way, your fever and this accident seem to me to represent a type of synchronicity that gives me pause for thought in connection with the above. In spite of everything, I'm traveling to Bruges on Sunday where I have a course to teach at the Collège d'Europe in which, by the way, I quote you.[260] I'll be glad to get in touch after my return and hope that you'll have mended fully by then.

With all wishes for a good recovery,
Your Ad. Keller

—

36 Keller[261]

Zurich, 27. April 1951

Dear friend,

Our planned debate will be set back once again due to the fact that I returned from the Europe Congress in Lugano[262] and the recent cold spell with bronchial catarrh, and so the doctor isn't yet letting me out into the cold air. But all that we have said continues to ferment, as a new dream also shows. It is sublime that we small men stand trembling in this tremendous relationship and that even such little daily mishaps cannot hurt us. As soon as I'm no longer under house arrest,[263] I will get back in touch, and am

With best wishes,
Your Adolf Keller

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[260] On Keller's efforts in the reconstruction of Europe, see II "On the Letters" above, p. 96 and letters 17, 18, 24, and 36.

[261] L T 17 618.

[262] The Congress of the *Union of European Federalists* met from 16–20 April 1951 in Lugano.

[263] Due to illness.

37 Keller[264]

Muzot, Sierre, 29 May 1951

Dear friend,

I hope you have recovered from our long conversation in Bollingen. It didn't seem to bother you, and I thank you anyway not only for the time you devoted to me, but also for the real encounter made possible on the basis of complete mutual openness. It was valuable to talk so openly with one another about the deepest things, even where a single language does not suffice, and it called for the true dialectic that also reckons with the flexibility and durability of truth, therefore with being and becoming, or with certainty and the questionability of being.

Actually I am *astounded* that no dream came in response. But probably that wasn't necessary, since harmony and difference mutually compensated each other.

I experienced your archetypal impact on the Châtelaine here in Rilke's tower,[265] a naïve and shrewd woman in middle age upon whom, unbeknownst to her, you had the effect of a wise old man, providing in counterbalance an open catholicity.

I'm reading an English lecture for an American theological group who came down from Scotland to study theology for a semester in Europe[266] and Switzerland. They include you in the curriculum. They'd like to meet you, but I promised them nothing more than telling you, without advising a dangerous experiment.

With warm greetings, also
to your dear wife,
Your Adolf Keller

—

[264] L H 17 619. Keller's emphases.
[265] Châtelaine (French.) = manager of the castle.
[266] On the European continent.

38 On Behalf of Jung[267]

Küsnacht, 27 June 1951

Dear Professor

Professor Jung asked me to send you the enclosed copy of his now completed work on *Job*.[268]

With best wishes, your devoted,
[Marie Jeanne Schmidt][269]

—

[267] L T 17 966.

[268] Keller was one of three theologians to receive the manuscript, along with Hans Schär and probably Victor White, for the latter wrote on 17 March 1955: "I wonder what induced you to publish it: When you gave me the MS [manuscript] to read you were so emphatic that you would not!" (*The Jung—White Letters*, p. 259). Nevertheless White had written 23 October 1951, "I am thrilled to hear that '*Job*' has gone to press" (Ibid., p. 173). White's reference to *Job* was friendly in tone but critical in substance; see II "On the Letters" above, p. 103. On Keller's allusion to the *Job* manuscript, see letter 42 and II "On the Letters," above, p. 101.

[269] Jung also gave the manuscript to Aniela Jaffé, his analysand and from 1955 his secretary, to whom he wrote: "So it goes all the time: memories rise up and disappear again, as it suits them. In this way I have landed the great whale; I mean 'Answer to Job.' I can' say I have fully digested this tour de force of the unconscious. It still goes on rumbling a bit, rather like an earthquake" (Jung to Jaffé, 29 May 1951, Jung, *Letters* II, pp. 17–18). And in a further letter to Jaffé: "I am especially pleased that you could get into such close relationship with the second part of my book. So far most people have remained stuck in the first. I personally have the second more at heart because it is bound up with the present and the future. If there is anything like the spirit seizing one by the scruff of the neck, it was the way this book came into being" (ibid., 18 July 1951, II, p. 20.). In part 1 Jung concentrates on the story of Job; in part 2 beginning with chapter VII, he focuses on the figure of Christ, with the justification that "Yahweh's intention to become man, which resulted from his collision with Job, is fulfilled in Christ's life and suffering" (Jung: *Answer to Job* para. 648).

39 Keller[270]

First article[271]

Zurich, 10 July 1951
[no address]
[transcript:]

How easily the Protestant Press service transposes psychology into theology!

Gr. [greeting]
Keller

—

[270] L H 17 621. No postal address, but directed to Jung.

[271] The text of the article Keller sent to Jung from *Mitteilungen des Schweizerischen Evangelischen Pressedienst*s Zurich (EPD), Nr. 28, 10. July 1951, concerning "The deepest wound of our life" (Sunday thoughts, Mark 2:5) by W. (Paul Wieser, editor in chief) reads: "There are doctors today who make their patients aware of a deep inner wound: something in the soul, in the relationship with God, is not right. Every instance of illness stems from here. Professor C. G. Jung in Zurich also says from his long experience that among all of his patients in the second half of life there was not a single one whose problem did not ultimately concern finding a religious attitude to life. In the same way, Jesus Christ looked right inside the lame man who was brought to him and succinctly said to him: 'My son, your sins are forgiven.' Was the use of the word sin here not misplaced? There lay the sick man on the mattress, lame, without movement. He has only one wish: to become well again. His limbs would like to become strong again! To be freed from gout! That his back might become straight again! And here comes Jesus and says: 'Your sins . . .' No, it is not misplaced. With Jesus the word always comes first, the divine, living, renewing word. He is the proclaimer of the good news, not a miracle doctor. The thing that can really heal and help and make new is the word. What use is it to have healthy feet and yet to have to drag around a guilty conscience? What use is it to work and get rich and yet still to live in fear? For this, first of all the relationship with God must be repaired. We are interested only in second-order questions: We worry about our lungs, our stomach, our heart, our nerves, our money, our finances. Oh poor people! Where God's new age breaks through, where the kingdom of God is proclaimed, there sin is forgiven, there a path is cleared through all that stood in the way and divided us. A sick man came to Dr. Paul Tournier in Geneva to have a boil on his neck lanced. While the doctor applied a dressing, he asked him if he was carrying any serious worries or some sort of conflict. The patient's reply quickly resounded: 'No, everything is fine. I am happy and confident.' The doctor tells him that he himself had recently had early signs of boils, precisely on the days after unjustified fits of anger. 'Oh' says the patient, 'it's just the same for me! I get a new abscess every time I have a row with my wife. I had already noticed this but I hadn't dared to say it because I thought it was just a coincidence.' This is why in all our need, first of all our deepest relationship with God must be sorted out. Jesus Christ has received full authority from God to forgive sin and to make everything new.—W."

40 On Behalf of Jung[272]

[Küsnacht], 8 August 1951

Dear Professor,

Professor Jung has asked me to write you to ask you to return the *Job* manuscript as soon as possible. It is difficult for him to do without it since he has only two copies and he would be therefore very grateful for the return of yours.

With best wishes, your devoted,
[Marie-Jeanne Schmid]

—

41 Keller[273]

Geneva, 11th August 1951

Dear friend,

I was exceptionally grateful to you for sending me your work on *Job* and I wanted to make a proper response, not merely a formal note of thanks. As already mentioned, it arrived during the weeks I was away and was facing other pressing deadlines so I beg your patience for my reply. But I am now back from the ecumenical conferences[274] and I hope to deliver it to you soon. I did not dare to take the work with me on my travels since that can be sometimes too risky. I have been looking forward to reading this for a long time, and in fact it promises to be much more than an interesting read. I spoke yesterday to a select[275] international circle of American diplomats and chiefs of Washington departments and I had to explain some broad outlines of your work to them.

So, more soon and warm greetings,
Your Ad. Keller

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[272] L T 17 967.
[273] C H 17 620.
[274] In August 1951 the central committee of the Ecumenical Council of Churches met in Rolle on Lake Geneva.
[275] Select (Latin) = distinguished.

42 Keller[276]

Zurich, 17th August 1951

Dear friend,

Enclosed, I am returning your *Job* text, a work containing significantly more than the title suggests. It is an exceptionally important religio-psychological and religio-historical work and it will cause a sensation. Although the whole chapter of theogony,[277] that Hesiod had already considered,[278] had rather fallen off the radar again (Böhme and particularly Schelling have long since substituted "-gony"[becoming] with "-usia"[being]), it seems to be powerfully revitalized here, along with the most recent attempts by W. R. Corti[279] and others to make it accessible to the Christian world.[280]

I have not only read your work thoroughly but also copied excerpts from it in order to retain individual points, perhaps even in preparation for a debate with you that would be able to go into detail far better than a letter can.

I would have few objections to a discussion about the psychology of religion. You have protected yourself against this by alluding to the somewhat poetic and speculative character of your work. Therefore it is absolutely to be treated as an interpretation of an immense amount of factual material and as a visionary synthesis, which does not preclude theological debate. So in no way is it to be regarded as dogma or an alternative theology for Christianity. That said, in your assessment of Christianity the Catholic side gets off relatively lightly; your position regarding the question of the assumption of Mary[281] will kick up the dust and you will be regarded as a

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[276] L T 17 623. On this see II, "On the Letters" above, p. 101. Cf. Sonu Shamdasani in *C. G. Jung. A Biography in Books* (2012): "Jung's work on Christianity culminated in *Answer to Job* and *Aion: Research on the History of Symbols,*" p. 209 and related footnote 355.

[277] Theogony (Greek): mythical account of the origins of the gods.

[278] Hesiod = Greek poet, c.700 B.C. In his main work, *Theogony*, he extols the genesis of the world and the origins of the gods.

[279] Walter Robert Corti (1910–1990), publisher and inspiration behind the Pestalozzi children's village in Trogen, Switzerland which took in children from war-torn countries. This refers to his text *Die Mythopoese des werdenden Gottes*. Zurich: the Archive for Genetic Philosophy, 1953.

[280] Keller's rather convoluted sentence has been slightly edited for stylistic purposes.

[281] = Catholic doctrine of a corporeal assumption of Mary into Heaven, elevated to a dogma in 1950 by Pope Pius XII, which appeared to correspond with Jung's theory of quaternity.

crypto-Catholic[282] if you step so openly into the Catholic arena on this central point. Now Protestantism is experiencing its own crisis, and not only on this issue. Naturally, some things would require further amplification to be fully comprehensible, for example the question of whether Christ hinted at the principle of a morality of evil.

The actual discussion will be stimulated less by the religio-historical and religio-psychological sections, and more by the question of what these historical and psychologically limited insights mean for our religious attitude and the Christian faith if this faith, or pistis, is not to be completely replaced by gnosis. Will the religious motif of integration, or totality, possess the same religious binding power as the need for forgiveness, for personal fellowship, for salvation instead of for insight, for sanctifying transformation instead of for complementary "becoming whole?" Is it conceivable that there is a community forming character inherent in the new thesis or does it come down here to the esoteric perception of individual groups?

What will become of the ethical and missionary imperative which is in any case enormously diminished today thanks to the fantastical and ethically irresponsible power of the communist impetus and missionary zeal?[283] And where would the bridge between such an esoteric position and today's ecumenical world be located? It is becoming more and more apparent that ecumenism is also suffering from a rather artificial unity mania or Monism. It is painfully clear that ecumenism can only make sense dialectically out of an immanent opposition in which universalism and particularism are only two of the many different pairs of opposites. Today it is no longer correct to think that Protestant theology is still perpetuating the same opposition towards the new psychological insights.[284] I nearly sent you the report of a large lay conference in Bad Boll,[285] or another from the physicians and theologians conference where your psychology is being thoroughly debated, albeit perhaps as yet without the quaternity additions.

In brief, your work breaks an ocean's new waves of questions over us. And it boils and it roars, and it hisses and seethes,[286] and it is difficult to establish any sort of credo in this surge, even if only an individual one.

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[282] = a secret Catholic who does not confess his faith publicly.

[283] "Missionary zeal": Keller means the force of propaganda in Soviet anti-capitalism.

[284] Keller is thinking of Thurneysen et al., see above, p. 84 and I, 3e), p. 84., footnote 133, and of Uhsadel, Haendler, and Schär.

[285] = Protestant academy and conference center in Wurttemberg, see letter 1.

[286] Friedrich Schiller, from his ballad "The Diver." Translation anonymous.

The entire concept belongs in a new religious dynamism, whereas a good part of Christianity, at least the Catholic part, from Plato and Aristotle on assert much more strongly a status quo[287] in which the Holy Spirit as a principle of becoming and transformation has persistently been a source of embarrassment.[288] In brief, there is much to discuss and I would like to come to you again, whether to Küsnacht or Bollingen, if it is possible before 29 August as after that I am going to Austria and then to Oxford in mid-September.[289]

Forgive me if I have held on to the manuscript for so long, but I wanted to read it thoroughly enough to be able to send it back with more than a few complimentary remarks. I marvel at you and wonder how, in Küsnacht and Bollingen, you actually manage, first of all, to track down the obscure texts you cite, and then how you are able to make sense of them at all. I have never yet seen you sitting in the Central Library,[290] and yet I am unwilling to assume that the Holy Spirit is imparting direct verbal inspiration to you.[291] I presume that the work will be published. In

[287] A stationery, timeless world view and thus also a view of God. In the Jung-Keller correspondence, White is first mentioned in letter 56, then in 59. What Keller expresses about the "static" Catholic church contradicts Jung's perception, which considered that Catholic teaching could more easily be integrated with his theories than those of Protestantism. Cf. White's reaction to *Answer to Job*. See "On the Letters," above II, p. 102.

[288] By mentioning theogony (the mythical account of the origin of the gods) and the Holy Spirit, Keller implies that the biblical book of Job, among other things, concerns the transformation of the concept of God.

[289] As letter 46 suggests, further meetings may possibly have taken place, but these later came to an end.

[290] The central library is the cantonal, city, and university library of Zurich. Jung possessed a library of some 4500 volumes with several handwritten books and valuable first editions of theological, literary, psychological, and para-psychological content (communicated by Ulrich Hoerni on 3 January 2013). By "obscure" texts, Keller was perhaps thinking of, for example, *A Mithras-Liturgy*, or Justinus Kerner's *Die Seherin von Prévost*, or the magnificent *Luther Bible*, 1704 edition, or the *Cherubinischen Wandersmann* by Johannes Scheffler, or *Walpurgisnacht* by Gustav Meyrink, or most spectacularly, the *Traumbuch Cardani* dated 1563 by Girolamo Cardano. On this see Sonu Shamdasani, *C. G. Jung: A Biography in Books*, op. cit., pp. 52, 32, 109, 139, 142, 203).

[291] I.e., Jung need not have read any books because everything was imparted to him directly "from above."

that case it would perhaps be useful if you toned down some of the more sardonic questions put to Yahweh, to ease orthodox minds.

With warm greetings, also to Emma,
Your Adolf Keller[292]

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[292] Letter 42 documents Keller's reaction to the *Answer to Job* manuscript, the central theme of the correspondence. He deals pastorally with Jung, knowing his sensitivities. However, he does pose critical questions, e.g., regarding Jung's invective towards "Yahweh," and Jung's appreciation of Catholicism. In contrast, he underlines man's need for forgiveness and salvation and criticizes Jung's penchant for gnosis at the cost of pistis. Jung's manuscript is not offering an "alternative theology" in place of a Christian exegesis of Job. Keller even misses the allusion to the Holy Spirit, representing becoming and transformation—including that of the concept of God! Yet he emphasizes what is stimulating about Jung's text. He does not wish to foreclose on the verbal conversation he is proposing. It cannot be determined whether such a conversation actually took place in advance of the publication in March 1952. The question of whether Jung responded to Keller's written critique cannot be answered conclusively, but it is likely, see above II "On the Letters," p. 101. In any case, the publication (first edition Zurich, Rascher 1952) is marked by strong emotionality. Keller had already spoken about the biblical book of Job in 1917, see above I, 2f , p. 44. The debate about *Answer to Job* intensified particularly after 1955. Keller made efforts, despite his reservations, to find a publisher for *Job* in the United States. See letters 43, 56, 57, 59, 63, 65–68, 71, 72, 73, 74, 77.

On 6 February 1952 Jung wrote to Uhsadel (cf. footnotes 86 on p. 107 and 115 on p. 140) who had sent him his book *Der Mensch und die Mächte des Unbewussten. Studien zur Begegnung von Psychotherapie und Seelsorge* (Kassel, Stauda 1952): "very soon a so-called polemic of mine entitled *Answer to Job* will be published. I can only suggest that this text engages in a very critical way with the Old Testament Yahweh and hence with the Christian assumption of the aforesaid concept of God. I have shown the manuscript to three theological friends and they were shocked. On the other hand, many younger people have been positively impressed. The motif of my text is an ever-pressing emergent feeling of responsibility which I ultimately could no longer resist. I was also not able, like Albert Schweitzer, to seek out a suitable refuge far away from Europe and open a practice there. . . . I had to come to terms with this, with looking the problem of the contemporary Christian man in the eye." In *C. G. Jung Letters* II, p. 39. Jung sent Uhsadel the book immediately after it went to print in 1952 "in a spirit of friendship but also with misgivings." (ibid. p. 248). On Schweitzer, see letters 73–76. On the reactions of other theologians to *Answer to Job*, see above II "On the Letters," p. 110.

43 Keller[293]

Zurich, 27 November 1951

Dear friends,

At the invitation of the World Council of Churches[294] and the National Christian Council[295] I am flying on December 2nd to the USA on two longer missions, taking me first to California and then from there to the East Coast. In California I will attempt to prepare the second edition of my book *American Christianity today.*[296] I will then have the chance to meet with our Jungian groups and, of course, several opportunities to speak about the significance of Complex Psychology for pastoral care and education, perhaps even at universities and colleges. So your name, dear friend, will frequently resound in my ears and I do not wish simply to depart without saying farewell and *auf Wiedersehen* to you and your dear wife. As we are both *morituri*[297] we must, whatever may befall, greet each other with *Ave amice,*[298] while expressing the hope that on our return home we will encounter each other once again in the same deep and revolutionary things as before. You have given us so many nuts to crack[299] for which we need still more time, not only to read them for ourselves and to comprehend them, but also to recognize their significance for today's cultural situation and its seething chaos.

On this mission, I will meet not only with Church circles but also predominantly with academic groups, and am seeking to make contact with those in the know, believers, and the hopeful, who have a sense of the powerful transformations that are gripping us, and who are therefore part of an ongoing "transatlantic dialogue" that is neither sectarian nor limited.

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[293] L T 17 622. The letter is addressed to Jung and his wife Emma.

[294] *Ecumenical Council of Churches*, definitively founded in 1948, see I, 3a) p. 67.

[295] In fact the National Council of Churches of Christ in America; until 1952 it was called the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

[296] Keller, *Amerikanisches Christentum heute*, 1st ed. Zollikon (Zurich): Evangelischer Verlag 1943. A second edition was never published.

[297] Morituri (Latin): Those who will soon die.

[298] Ave amice (Latin) = Farewell, friend.

[299] By "nuts to crack" Keller means Jung's *Answer to Job*. The book was published in 1952 in a first edition of 3400 copies. Both large daily newspapers and small journals such as the journal of the Swiss Benedictines discussed the book. The first edition was sold out within a short time. The publisher planned a new edition of 3000 copies for 1953. (Re. this information, see the manuscript department of the central library of Zurich, Ms. Rascher 81, file: Jung, Carl Gustav 1951–1952).

If you have any contacts you could share with me for this purpose, I would gladly seize this opportunity.

With best wishes for the New Year,
Your Adolf Keller

—

44 On behalf of Keller[300]

Los Angeles, 7 February 1952

Dear friends,

It was especially kind of you to send me a telegram on my 80th birthday. I send you my most sincere thanks, also to the Club to whom I have already replied. That reply was also meant for your attention since I wrote it *before* your telegram, in response to the Club's greeting. There are some matters in it that are of interest to the Club which I won't repeat here.

I have quickly got down to hard work after sidestepping the snowstorm in New York and Chicago. I had thorough-going conversations with Aldous Huxley[301] and Thomas Mann[302] about your stance in relation to today's problematic world situation and its psychological aspects. Huxley has a disease of the eyes and therefore must see with spiritual eyes. Here, the volume of traditional debris and of unhistorical direct acts of faith[303] is so pronounced that only those who are suffocated by it are able to achieve a sense of perspective or to recognize what is liberating or symbolic behind a psychological observation.

Next week I am to introduce Buber[304] here at a big banquet. He attacks your position but remains objective and gracious, whereas the

[300] L T 18 332. The letter was forwarded to Jung and his wife by Keller's secretary, Elisa Perini. Keller's emphases.

[301] Aldous Huxley, (1893–1963), British writer whose best-known work was *Brave New World* (1932).

[302] Thomas Mann (1875–1955), during the war and for some years afterwards, lived with his Jewish wife in Santa Monica, California. Keller and Mann had already met before the war in Princeton. Both were active in the support of Jewish refugees in the United States and sought to encourage Americans to receive more of them.

[303] Keller is alluding to the political conservatism and religious fundamentalism he found among Americans.

[304] Martin Buber, (1878–1965), Jewish philosopher of religion. This concerns the Second Annual conference of the international, inter-religious World Brotherhood founded in 1951, of which Keller was a member. The organization promoted justice, friendship,

Freudians are going full pelt and waging an all-out war. Dr. Hurwitz[305] gave a good lecture. Kirsch[306] has issues with the medical authority.

I recently had a second significant dream[307] following that first initiation dream with the snake that bit me. I was in a small church and was observing how, during his sermon, the minister kept looking up at something significant that I could not see at first. Suddenly I felt it touch my neck, like the soft feathers of the dove hovering in the air as the Holy Spirit. It was uncommonly exhilarating and restorative.

Sadly I was not able to take *Aion*[308] with me and am saving it until I return home. It might even be as late as June as a large program awaits me at universities and seminaries and conferences throughout America. In Washington I am preaching at the "National Cathedral"[309] as I did recently at St. Paul's in London. Here, one is immediately in the midst of big congregations, but one also encounters the unorganized individuals who have no collective home and belong to those of whom Coleridge[310] said: "I belong to that holy and infallible church of which I am the only member!"

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understanding, and cooperation "among all men of good will." See M. Jehle-Wildberger: *Adolf Keller* biography, pp. 240, 249. Cf. above. I, 2g), p. 50 and letter 4.

[305] Siegmund Hurwitz (?–1994), Jung's dentist, also worked as an analyst. He advised Jung in questions of Jewish mysticism, on which he also wrote. His wife Lena Hurwitz-Eisner was one of the publishers of Jung's collected works, including CW 11.

[306] James Isaac Kirsch, M. D. (1901–1989), Jungian analyst, had been in Los Angeles since 1940, and was founder of the Analytical Psychology Club of Los Angeles and the Society of Jungian Analysts in Los Angeles, both organizations in which Keller was active. Kirsch was Jewish, and sought conversations with Christian theologians. Jung had been in contact with Kirsch since 1926. In the letter to Kirsch dated 26 May 1934 Jung defended himself: He has a duty to remain President of the International Gesellschaft für Psychotherapie, and was not anti-Semitic in having noted the historical host-guest basis for Jewish culture. See C. G. Jung, *Letters* I, 161, cf. above also I, 3c), footnote 54 on p. 74. See also *The Jung-Kirsch Letters* (ed. Ann Conrad Lammers). London/New York: Philemon Series/ Routledge, 2011.

[307] After the "initiation dream" (cf. letters 24, 28, and 69) and the dream of Jung's purchase of the Ramse valley (cf. letters 24–34), this relates to the third of Keller's dreams.

[308] C. G. Jung, *Aion. Researches into the Phenomenology of the Self* with a contribution by Marie-Louise von Franz. Zurich: Rascher 1951, English translation RKP, CW 11, 1959.

[309] Presiding Bishop's church of the Episcopalians (Anglicans) in the American capital.

[310] Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772–1834), English theologian and poet, one of the original Romantics. The quotation cannot be verified. Coleridge is evidently ridiculing people who believe they do not require a church. He was a forerunner of Anglo-Catholicism.

Can the photo in the *Weltwoche* be purchased anywhere?[311] It is splendid. I, the older man, seem to be the "puer"[312] who handsomely supplies me with eternal youth and who fulfils something of what Goethe said:

Wherever you may be, always be like a child in all things—
Then you will be everything, invincible[313]

But my 80 years permit no such blithe hubris.

Warm greetings to you all,
Adolf Keller

—

45 Jung[314]

[Küsnacht] 21 October 1952

Dear friend,

I know nothing of "a tension," nor of "certain letters," if by that you do not mean the communiqués of your wife. She does not alter my relationship with you.[315] I am also in the dark about what you mean by "company business."[316] I am ill at the moment and am confined to my bed for a lengthy period and I am forbidden any visits.

Unfortunately I cannot give you any satisfactory information.

Meanwhile, with best wishes,
Your [Carl]

—

[311] Cf. letter 60 and footnote 422 on p. 205.

[312] Puer (Latin) = boy. Keller is thinking of the puer aeternus (Latin) = the "eternal boy," one of the archetypes in Jung's psychology. Cf. Marie-Louise von Franz, *Puer Aeternus: A Psychological Study of the Adult Struggle with the Paradise of Childhood*. Boston: Sigo, 1997. Keller considers that he feels young, that he has retained something child-like and curious.

[313] "Nur wo du bist, sei alles, immer kindlich, So bist du alles, bist unüberwindlich."

Goethe, *Elegie*, Hamburg Edition, 13. ed. Munich, Beck 1982, Vol. 1, 384, verses 101 and 102.

[314] L T 18 826.

[315] At least one preceding letter from Keller must have been lost. Tina Keller had evidently made critical remarks about Jung in public. See letter 69.

[316] An explanation of the "business" cannot be found.

46 Keller[317]

Zurich 7 May 1953

Dear friend,

Since, I am sure, we have not yet turned into elephantlike solitaries, and the inner relationship has no need of anything "feigning," I seek, even though the rhythm of our visits has ceased, simply to send a word into your silence once again.[318] This, all the more so since the Club asked me after Toni's[319] memorial service to pay tribute to her in a short obituary where there would also be room for Linda Fierz's[320] words. I assume the Club is also sending you a copy; since the actual service took place in a church setting at St. Peter's, certain parallels or allusions were easy to make and probably also to comprehend.[321]

The thought of you was also very much alive in this, and you are bound to interpret this frame correctly, whose meaning lies mostly apart from church conventions and the professional sneerers in the Club. Only one question of nuance will be whether your teaching is contained or is containing. The question is important only if we wish to define our individual or group relationship to the culture or to religion. But fundamentally, the kingdom of the soul is also the kingdom of God. And souls have limits, notably that ultimate boundary before which you and I stand, hoping confidently to cross it when the time comes.

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[317] L T 19 293.

[318] After 1951, Jung and Keller's relationship cooled; this is evidenced by the diminishing frequency of the letters after 1952 and above all by Jung's letter 45. The "silence" refers to Jung's mourning the death of Toni Wolff.

[319] Toni Wolff (1888–1953), colleague of Jung, president of the Psychological Club for many years. Although her personal relationship with Jung had been less intense for some years, Jung was evidently so affected by her death that he was unable to take part in her funeral. Five years later Jung wrote of the "multifaceted nature and the depth of her spiritual personality" and of the "friends who lament her death," Jung to Dr. Daniel Brody, publisher of the Eranos yearbooks 1933–1969, 18 March 1958 (*C. G. Jung Letters* I, pp. 424–425.)

[320] Linda Emma Fierz née David (1891–1955) grew up in Basel, where she evidently completed her studies as the first female student at the university. She married the physicist Markus Fierz, professor at the ETH in Zurich, and was taken seriously ill in 1918 with "Spanish flu," for which she sought C. G. Jung's help. She wrote several books of a psychological nature, including *The Dream of Poliphilo: The Soul in Love*, tr. Mary Hottinger. Dallas: Spring, 1950; and *Women's Dionysian Initiation: The Villa of Mysteries in Pompeii* (1957), tr. Gladys Phelan, introd. M. Esther Harding. Dallas: Spring, 1988. The Fierz family owned a holiday home at Bollingen, next to Jung's "tower." Linda Fierz and her husband were linked to Jung and his circle right into old age. (Communicated by Lukas Fierz, 27 November and 6. December 2011, supplemented by Ulrich Hoerni, 3. January 2013.)

[321] Keller appears to refer to Jung's close relationship with Toni Wolff.

But before then I am willing to visit you once again, if it is convenient, and should you wish to tolerate or even engage with a bit of companionship. I have recently spoken to Professor G. Frey[322] about you and your contribution to the kingdom of God from the kingdom of the soul.

With kind greetings, also
to Emma and yours,
Your Adolf Keller

—

47 Keller[323]

Zurich, 16 September [1953?]

Dear friend,

The fact that we *now* have a Jung codex[324] in addition to the Jung Club, the C. G. Jung Institute,[325] and the Jungian literature is astonishing. And now I must add a further postscript to my most recent lines to you. It reminds me of a conversation that I had 25 years ago with Professor Arnold Meyer,[326] dean of our theology faculty. Concerning the Gnostics, I said to him at that time that theology had to make up some ground in

[322] Professor G. Frey: presumably Gebhard Frei (1905–1968), professor of philosophy and history of religion at the Bruder-Klausen-Seminar Schöneck-Beckenried, with whom Jung exchanged some letters.

[323] L H 19 294. The year is missing, filed in the Jung archive under 1953. Keller's emphases.

[324] This refers to the so-called *Jung Codex* or the *Nag Hammadi Codex I*, (dated from the 2nd century) acquired in 1952 by the C. G. Jung Institute and preserved today in the Coptic Museum in Cairo. Cf. Helmut Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels, their History and Development,* London, SCM Press / Philadelphia, Trinity Press International, 1990, 22f. Jung gave the address on 15 November 1953 at the presentation of the *Jung Codex,* see CW 18, paras. 1826–1834, 1981 (communicated by Sonu Shamdasani, 17 December 2012). Jungian literature includes Jung's writings and those by Jungian theorists.

[325] The C. G. Jung Institute in Zurich opened in April 1948 as a teaching and research institute for Complex Psychology. On 11 October 1948 Emil Brunner, the theology professor who was a friend of Keller, was present at the Institute: "Incidentally we had the pleasure of seeing Professor Jung in excited conversation with Emil Brunner and one can only hope that this contact might contribute if not quite to an ironing out of the current tensions between dialectical theology and psychology, then at least to a clarification of perspective, free from personal over-shadowing"(Article: "Zur Eröffnung des C. G. Jung-Instituts in Zurich,"in *Die Weltwoche*, 15 October 1948, p. 9, unsigned, possibly by Keller).

[326] Arnold Meyer (1861–1934), professor of New Testament and practical theology at the University of Zurich from 1904 until 1931.

relation to *gnosis*, linking this to Harnack's book on Marcion[327] and to his college seminar that I attended. In response he replied: we could not accomplish anything like a Gnostic reformation when faced with a movement that united so much that was Jewish and pagan with what is Christian.

But now you have achieved[328] this very thing and you have been a model for a scholarly world in this particular honor: that the oldest theological member of the Club who was active historically not only in such textual work and research in Egyptian and Libyan[329] monasteries but also in the material itself knew nothing of such a reception probably has more to do with occasionally formal remarks to the management than with the position of the author who well knows, in spite of some differences, that in my father's house are many mansions.[330]

With warm
congratulations,
Your Adolf Keller

—

48 Keller[331]

Zurich, 4 November [1953?]

Dear friend,

I was pleased that you were able to devote so much time to attaché Hannon.[332] He considers this conversation to be one of his key experiences. It

[327] Marcion (c. 85–169) was the founder of an influential Christian school of thought to be close to Gnosticism from the 2nd Century. Later many considered him the "archheretic." He rejected the Old Testament as holy scripture and believed that the creator God of the Old Testament was not the benevolent father of Jesus Christ. Cf. Adolf von Harnack, *Marcion, Das Evangelium vom fremden Gott*, Leipzig, Hinrichs 1921.

[328] Keller congratulates Jung on *Aion. Researches into the Phenomenology of the Self*, First edition Zurich: Rascher, 1951, English translation 1959, RKP; he was only now reading the book. In *Aion* Jung traces an arc from the "Self" to "Christ," a "Symbol of the Self," to "Gnostic symbols of the Self" (Jung, *Aion. Researches into the Phenomenology of the Self*, CW 9ii, paras. 268–269). Keller had already been confronted by Marcion and Gnostis during his studies in Berlin with Adolf von Harnack, see above I, 1a), p. 3. On *Aion* see also letter 50.

[329] Keller probably means Coptic monasteries in the "Libyan" desert to the west of the Nile. He had visited these while a pastor in Cairo.

[330] Cf. John 14:2.

[331] L H 19 295. No year cited. Filed under 1953 in the C .G. Jung archive.

[332] Stuart Hannon, American attaché in Bern from 1953 until 1954. Keller had presumably arranged this contact.

is interesting to see how far the world has come for it is now not only engaging with your psychology but is also grappling with the question of what it means for the contemporary situation. This, even in America and Germany where everyone must now come to grips with you if they are involved in pastoral care and consulting,[333] in many respects not directly and personally but with the matter itself. Zacharias[334] will interest me since I have had very many connections with the Eastern church since my visit to Sinai. Is Zacharias here and can you put me in touch with him?

As you do not wish to let old friendships "wither away,"[335] please be assured that one call will suffice to enable me to overcome my reticence about exhausting you.

Warmest,
Your
Adolf Keller

—

49 Jung[336]

[Küsnacht], 10 November 1953

Dear friend,

The conversation with Mr. Hannon was very interesting for me; he is a man of uncommon intelligence. Unfortunately Zacharias[337] is no longer here, he is now in Stuttgart at a psychotherapy institute; his address can probably be gleaned from Frau Jaffé.[338] I recently learned that the Carmelites[339] in France are in a certain sense reigniting the ancient controversy, already rejected by the pope in 1698, namely the argument with the Jesuits over the Carmelite claim that the prophet Elias was the founder of their order. The pope subsequently imposed a silence on both orders.

[333] Consulting (Engl.)

[334] Gerhard Zacharias (born 1923), wrote the book *Psyche und Mysterium, die Bedeutung der Psychologie C. G. Jungs für die christliche Theologie und Liturgie*. Zurich, Rascher, 1954.

[335] The preceding letter from Jung is lost or Keller is referring to spoken words by Jung.

[336] L T 19 731. Jung's emphasis.

[337] Cf. letter 48.

[338] Aniela Jaffé, see above footnote 269 on p. 175. On Aniela Jaffé see I, 3c) above, p. 74.

[339] Carmelites = monastic order founded at the end of the twelfth century by the crusaders who settled in the Mount Carmel in order to listen for the still small voice of God, (cf. 1. Kings 19). Their model was the prophet Elias who had also come to Mount Carmel (cf. 1. Kings 18), (http://karmel-marienthal.de/karmel02.html).

Now the Carmelites hope to legitimize their ancient claim with the aid of the theory of archetypes!

With best wishes,
Your [Carl]

—

50 Jung[340]

[Küsnacht], 8 December 1953

Dear friend,

I have now received your letter. The term "assimilation"[341] you asked me about is explored in a more comprehensive way in my "*Aion*." The relevant page numbers are: ix and 181ff. Also other places: cf. the index.

With best wishes,
Your [Carl]

—

[340] L T 19 732. Reply to a lost letter from Keller.

[341] "Assimilation:" See Jung, *Aion*, Jung's investigation seeks "with the help of Christian, Gnostic, and alchemical symbols of the self, to throw light on the change of psychic situation within the 'Christian aeon.' . . . It is therefore only natural that my reflections should gravitate mainly round the symbol of the *Fishes*, for the Pisces aeon is the synchronistic concomitant of two thousand years of Christian development. In this time-period . . . the figure of the Anthropos (the 'Son of Man') [was] progressively amplified symbolically and thus assimilated psychologically" (Foreword, ix). Jung emphasizes both here and later that neurosis has its basis in the separation of consciousness from the unconscious. It requires a third, a "symbolical water" (*aqua doctrinae* or the water of baptism, also the *tao* and the elixir), to enable these to come together and bring about the healing process (paras 280–281). "The problems which the integration of the unconscious sets modern doctors and psychologists can only be solved along the lines traced out by history, and the upshot will be a new assimilation of the traditional myth" (para 282). Cf. letter 47.

51 Keller[342]

Zurich, 3 April 1954

Dear friend,

E. Evans's[343] reaction has more than merely individual merit and typically concerns the problem of assimilation or resonance, which interests me in its diversity and its particularity. *If you believe that his "insightful letter" would engage my interest for this reason,* I'd be glad to read it if you are willing and able to spare it for a few days. The multiplicity of interpretations of psychological phenomena is certainly a particular problem and is inherently instructive and stimulating in a time when Monisms[344] and dogmatics are disintegrating into dialectics.

Warm greetings,
Your Adolf Keller

—

52 Keller[345]

Los Angeles, 22 December 1954

Dear friend,

Even the distance of ten thousand kilometres cannot disturb a spiritual fellowship. Moreover, your name is forever resounding in my ears over here and I must often make reference to you in my own lectures. My friend Upton Sinclair sends me an excerpt of a letter containing your view of his new book "*What did Didymus do?*[346] In it, you'll recall how he sketches

[342] C H 20 224. Keller's emphases.

[343] A preceding letter from Jung must have been lost. This possibly refers to either Richard Evans, an American psychologist from Houston (Sonu Shamdasani, 17 December 2012), or Edward Evans-Pritchard (1902–1973), a British social anthropologist.

[344] Monism from (Greek) monos, single, sole; here meaning the ability to unlock all locks with the same key.

[345] L T 20 225. The letter is almost illegible, as it is written on a decrepit typewriter on airmail paper; thus there may be mistakes in the transcription.

[346] Upton Sinclair (1878–1968), American social-critical writer, lived in California. Correct title of the book was: *What Didymus Did* (London, Allan Wingate 1954). In *C. G. Jung Letters* II, 5 of Jung's letters to Sinclair are reproduced. (97 letters between Keller and Sinclair are to be found in the Winterthur special collection CH W MS 152/153). On 3 November 1952 Jung writes to Sinclair about *A Personal Jesus*, which impressed him with its "excellent picture of a possible religious teacher" while omitting the great and peculiar "riddle. . . . You give us no understanding of what the New Testament tries to tell, namely

a satire in which much is spot on but much else is misrepresented. While here I have read various books by the writer Wylie, e.g., his book *Opus 21*,[347] which evidently has hallmarks of your influence. And at long last your psychology has made deep inroads into what church and theology here call "counseling."

I have also met with Dr. Meyer[348] and your ears must have been burning. Now, all of this concerns the far-reaching question of how your psychology is penetrating the contemporary epoch, how culture and philosophy and theology are getting to grips with you.

This question cannot only be a specialty of the Club. It is well known that there are other vast expanses beyond their psychic range that the likes of us must grapple with without simply swearing an oath to follow the master[349] or splitting off the entire process of cultural history from the psychological problem.

Such independent involvement is despised by the Club, for sure. But everyone has his own amplitude and must operate within it and you will probably do this yourself and even acknowledge it.

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the life, fate, and effect of a God-Man" (Jung, *Letters* II, 89f). Sinclair refutes Jung's allegation that his image of Jesus was "a bit too selective" (see Jung to Sinclair, 24 November 1952, ibid., p. 94 n.1.). Jung was enthusiastic about Sinclair's novel *Our Lady,* which portrays Mary's relationship with her son, but he opposed Sinclair's way of taking "the reader by the hand" through "a more or less ordinary story. . . . In trying to extract the quintessence of Christian tradition, you have removed it like Prof. Bultmann in his attempt at 'demythologizing' the Gospels" (7 January 1955, ibid., pp. 204–206).

[347] Philip Wylie (1902–1971), renowned American writer. This refers to his novel *Opus 21: Descriptive Music for the Lower Kinsey Epoch of the Atomic Age, A Concerto for One-Man Band, Six Arias for Soap Operas, Fugues, Anthems & Barrelhouse* (New York: Rinehart, 1949). In 1937, C. G. and Emma Jung were guests of the Wylies in Madison on the occasion of Yale's Terry Lectures, about which they exchanged letters. In 1947 Jung wrote Victor White regarding Wylie's culture-critical book *Generation of Vipers* (1942) in which he debated with the American "mom:" "W. [Wylie] is ethical, but he does not—not yet—understand religion. That is the reason, why his outlook on a further mental development is so . . . incredibly shallow" (Jung to White, 19 December 1947, in *The Jung-White Letters*, 102f.) In 1949 Jung and Wylie argued about the quaternity. Yet in 1957 Jung wrote Wylie: "Like every one of us you were part of the dimness overshadowing the greater part of mankind, in the first place the western so-called Christian man. To discover Man is a great adventure. I am glad and grateful that people like yourself begin to see the dawn" (Jung to Wylie, 22. December 1957, in Jung, *Letters* II, 1973, p. 404).

[348] Misspelled: this probably refers to Dr. Carl Alfred Meier (1905–1995), Secretary to the *Zentralblatts für Psychotherapie der Internationalen Allgemeinen Ärztlichen Gesellschaft für Psychotherapie* (of which Jung was president from 1933), then first President of the C. G. Jung-Institute founded in 1948, and from 1949 Jung's successor as Honorary Professor of Psychology at the ETH Zurich.

[349] In verba magistri (Latin) = at the word of the master. I.e., one follows uncritically the teaching of the master, in this case Jung.

It would be absurd to linger over this, for the problem itself is broader in scope than an individualistic psychology might admit, and has more forms and problems within history and in its contemporary iteration than some realize.

But meanwhile it has been a pleasure for me to enjoy our life, as you do. The sun here is doing me a world of good, as is the solitude. I have just as much of it as I need so as not to lose my introversion in company, something I have a compensatory need of here.

You have now reached that Churchillian age[350] when you no longer need worry about other people because they have learned to define you by standards other than those of a grandmother or school- teacher.

In this immense country where simply anything is possible the most unbelievable things happen. It is as if the land still needed to learn reverence for what lies beneath us.[351] For, to a staggering degree, unimaginable crime is on the rise here. They kill one another when they've had enough of each other, and sometimes for no apparent reason at all.

You are now hidden in that realm where you no longer need to worry about hordes and prattle, but there are many who are thinking your thoughts onwards even when the Christian theologians cannot yet take their doctorate in Gnosticism.

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[350] The British war-time prime minister Winston Churchill (1874–1965) was at that time over 80 years old. Jung was not yet 80.

[351] Reverence before that which lies beneath us: Cf. Goethe, *Conversations of German Refugees: William Meister's Journeyman Years*. Trans. Jan van Heurck. Princeton: Princeton U.P., 1995, 203–4 (*Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre*, Book 2, first chapter): "You have seen three sorts of gestures and we teach a threefold reverence, which reaches its greatest strength and effectiveness only when it flows as one and forms a whole. The first is reverence for that which is above us. That gesture, the arms crossed over the chest and joyful gaze toward the sky, is what we require of young children, thereby demanding that they testify that there is a God above who is reflected and manifested in their parents, teachers and superiors. The second: reverence for that which is beneath us. The hands held behind the back, bound as it were, and the lowered smiling glance say that one must regard the earth carefully and serenely; it affords nourishment, it furnishes unutterable delights, but it also produces disproportionate suffering. If someone suffers bodily injury, by his own doing or innocently, if others deliberately or inadvertently injure him, if the indifference of the earth inflicts some suffering upon him, let him consider it well, for this sort of peril remains with him his whole life long. But we liberate our pupil from this position as quickly as possible, as soon as we are certain that the lesson of this stage has had sufficient effect. Then we call upon him to take courage, to turn to his comrades and be guided by them. Now he stands up straight and bold, but not in selfish isolation; only in alliance with others like him does he form a front against the world. Beyond that, we would not know what to add."

I'm spending the winter over here[352] and send you all, including Emma and your children, my best wishes for the New Year, ever

Your Adolph[353] *Keller*

—

53 Jung[354]

[Küsnacht], 21 January 1955

Dear friend,

Many thanks for your kind letter for the New Year. I am pleased to hear that you are well and that you are enjoying the warm sunshine in California. We could do with some of that here. I had some correspondence with Upton Sinclair;[355] he seems, like most Americans, to live very much in the public eye. I've heard nothing from Wylie[356] for years. I have never deluded myself that psychology is the only answer to all human questions; but even if one is in no position to proclaim the eternal truth, one might still be allowed to make some small contributions to the general culture.

With best wishes that the New Year will keep you in activity and health, and warm greetings, I am

Your [Carl]

—

54 Keller[357]

Los Angeles, 10 February 1955

Dear friend,

I thank you for your letter. It requires no reply except perhaps for a sidenote to say that no one, including myself, doubts your impact on our

[352] Keller, due to his chronic bronchitis, was escaping the fog and cold of Europe.

[353] From this letter on, when writing from America, Keller often spelled his name with "ph."

[354] L T 22 021. To Keller in Los Angeles.

[355] Cf. letter 52.

[356] Cf. letter 52. In *An Essay on Morals* (New York, Rinehart, 1947), Wylie discussed Jung's theory of the collective unconscious. Jung wrote Wylie that his text was "the best exegesis of my writing I have ever seen." Wylie quoted Jung's letter in the introduction to the second edition of his essay (New York, Rinehart, 1961).

[357] L T 21 300.

contemporary culture for one minute. There are those who are able to acknowledge the inscription over your door,[358] even where they see other conflicts, theologically or otherwise.

So if, in spite of this, I am accompanying this insight with a letter, this is thanks to your photo being on the current cover of *Time* magazine.[359] You are not looking directly at us, but gazing out into that distance now edging close to us old men. Not only that: your face is no longer only knowing in a sardonically superior way, but has become far-seeing and capable of an ultimate vision. The sardonic curl of your mouth has subsided or mellowed into a mild disappointment or grieving at the sight of humankind. The expression has drawn close to Lincoln's precept "with malice to none and charity to all."[360] Fundamentally I have always believed in this. I have found in your deliberate and often fiercely protected or defensive solitude and remoteness from people that authentic and profound human intimacy that defines not only civilized culture but also one's destiny and fellowship with God.

So your face is a sensation in the conventional array of faces that pass us by. Over here it is being talked about among the unreligious who like to discover something among the religious, who see in it the serenity of Meister Eckhart,[361] or invoked in Psalm 90 as wisdom.[362] If that is a plumb line holding the two contortionists in an equilibrium, then it's ingenious that this plumb line can evidently sink still deeper.[363] I hope to profit from it myself, in the deepening awareness that, despite all my activity, I find myself in good equilibrium between extraversion and introversion. It's my experience, even while away from home, that one can relate well to one's inner world, because even when busy or in company I

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[358] Vocatus atque non vocatus deus aderit. Cf. above I, 3d), p. 77 and Appendix.

[359] On 14 February 1955, C. G. Jung's image adorned the cover of *Time–The Weekly Magazine*.

[360] Abraham Lincoln (1809–1865, assassinated), American president. The closing sentence in his second inaugural address on 4 March 1865, one month before his assassination, were: "With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle for his widow and his orphan, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

[361] Meister Eckhart (c.1260–1328), German mystic.

[362] Cf. Psalm 90:12: "So teach us to number our days, that we may apply our hearts to wisdom."

[363] See the background of the *Time* portrait. Snake motifs frequently arise in Jung's work, such as in 7th volume "Excerpta," 15 and 20, in Sonu Shamdasani, *C. G. Jung. A Biography in Books*, op. cit., pp. 179 and 182.

always carry something of the desert solitariness that was my definitive experience in the Sinai[364] Desert and at the site of the burning bush.[365]

People over here often speak to me about your face on the cover of *Time* and are amazed how gentle, far-seeing, and perceptive your eyes have become. I will soon be seeing Upton Sinclair[366] and he will certainly mention it, as will the *International PEN-Club*.[367]

I gave a lecture here at the *Institute of World Affairs* to an annual conference of professors of political science on the cultural and psychological roots in the development of conflicts. I emphatically referred to the insights that we owe to depth psychology and in particular to Complex Psychology.

We both of us stand, you in your 80th and I at the start of my 84th year, vocati atque non vocati before Pescara's temptation, and have triumphed.[368] I will remain in this sunlight.

Your Ad. Keller
With warm greetings to
Emma.

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[364] Keller, 1896–1899 minister in Cairo; he spent several weeks in Sinai. See I, 1a) and II "On the Letters" and letter 74.

[365] Cf. Exodus 3. See II "On the Letters" above, p. 102.

[366] Cf. letter 52.

[367] Keller was a member of the Schweizerischen Schriftstellervereins and the International PEN-Club.

[368] Vocati atque non vocati (Latin) = bidden or not, i.e.: "Whether we are called today or tomorrow, we have impending death in our sights, and no longer allow ourselves to be tempted by the allure of the world." Allusion to Conrad Ferdinand Meyers' (1825–1898) novel, *Die Versuchung des Pescara* (*Pescara's Temptation*). In this book, the title figure, a Renaissance general, has a secret fatal wound, so it is impossible to seduce him with the offer of the royal crown of Naples by overthrowing Kaiser Karl V, his master. ("Vocati atque non vocati" sounds similar to the Latin inscription carved in stone above the entrance to Jung's house "Vocatus atque non vocatus deus aderit" [Bidden or not, God will be present], but here it has a completely different meaning.)

55 Jung[369]

[Küsnacht], 25 February 1955

Dear friend,

It was very kind of you to take the time and trouble to respond so comprehensively to the article in *Time*. To me, my face looked peculiar, but you've managed to interpret it splendidly. The photographer, who bored me intensely with his interminable shoot, must have caught me at a moment of absent-mindedness when I'd sunk into my thoughts. Regarding "this world," my thoughts have been and remain not very encouraging, in fact. The prospect of mounting pressure in the unconscious towards mass murder in the grandest style is not exactly edifying. Transitions from one aeon to another[370] always seem to have been melancholy and desperate times, such as for example the demise of the Old Kingdom in Egypt ("Conversation of the World-Weary Man with his Soul!")[371] between Taurus[372] and Aries.[373] Or the melancholy of the Augustan age between Aries and Pisces.[374] Now we're approaching Aquarius,[375] about which the Sibylline Books[376] declare: *Luciferi vires accendit Aquarius acres!* [Aquarius inflames the wild powers of Lucifer].[377] And even now we stand only at the very beginning of this apocalyptic development! I'm now a great-great-grandfather and can see those distant generations coming

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[369] L T 22 022 (by hand to Jung's daughter, Frau Marianne Niehus, in a typed copy to Keller in California). The round brackets were placed by Jung. The letter also appears in Jung: *Letters* II, pp 229f. Also on 25 February 1955, Jung wrote Upton Sinclair in California: "Many thanks for the copy of *Time*. A. Keller was thrilled with my portrait. . . . My text *Answer to Job* was passed over to the English publishers by the Bollingen Press, evidently they feared something like "Unamerican activities" and probably also loss of prestige. It is a book for the few and yet it will be read, I fear, by the many and also misunderstood by them" (ibid., pp. 230–231). Cf. letter 42 and footnote 292 on p. 181.

[370] Eon (Greek) = age. Jung obviously believed he was living in a time of transition. Cf. also Alfons Rosenberg, *Durchbruch zur Zukunft. Der Mensch im Wassermann-Zeitalter*. München Planegg, Barth 1958. In the New Testament, eon is a description of the "evil world" Cf. Matt. 12:32 and 1. Cor. 1:20.

[371] Cf. the ancient Egyptian poem *Gedicht vom Lebensmüden* in Hugo Gressmann (Herausgeber) *Altorientalische Texte zum Alten Testamen,* second edition. Berlin and Leipzig, De Gruyter, 1926, pp. 25–28.

[372] Taurus (Greek/Latin.) = astrological sign of the Bull.

[373] Aries (Latin) = astrological sign of the Ram.

[374] Pisces (Latin) = astrological sign of the Fish.

[375] Aquarius (Latin) = astrological sign of the Water-Bearer.

[376] The Sibylline Oracles are ancient apocalyptic texts, variously Jewish, Greek, and Christian. The different sibyls are visionaries who foretell future events.

[377] Cf. Jung, *Answer to Job*, CW 11, para. 733.

on, who long after us will inexorably live in that darkness. I'd accuse myself of the pessimism of old age if I didn't know that the H-bomb[378] stands ready, a fact that is sadly now indisputable. All it takes is for a Herostratus[379] in the Kremlin to push the button. We can only hope for a miracle. And what about the problem of overpopulation, even in the most favorable circumstances.

Best wishes from
Your Jung

—

56 Jung[380]

[Küsnacht], 25 March 1955

Dear friend,

Many thanks for your news. The book you have in mind appears to have already been published. It's an impressive volume of 390 pages, from the Disque Vert press in Brussels, in which no fewer than 32 authors hold forth on my different qualities.[381] The Club has absolutely nothing to do with this publication nor with Corbin's[382] significant statement of views. He has now been appointed to Massignon's[383] chair at the Sorbonne. I have constant contact mainly with Catholic theologians, particularly Père Bruno de Jésus-Marie,[384] the publisher of *Études Carmélitaines*.[385] They are about to publish a book by a Belgian Jesuit about my psychology. I've already read the draft of this book; the author makes the fundamental mistake of treating me as a philosopher and thinks that my concepts are concerned with philosophy, which of course is completely wrong. They are concepts that

[378] H-bomb = hydrogen bomb, a weapon of mass destruction, many times more destructive than the atomic bombs of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

[379] In 356 BC Herostratus set on fire the temple of Artemis in Ephesus (one of the seven wonders of the ancient world) in order to achieve fame for doing so.

[380] L T 22 023. To Keller in Los Angeles. A preceding letter from Keller is missing (see 2nd sentence, "The book you have in mind.").

[381] Various authors, *C. G. Jung,* Brussels, Le Disque vert, 1955.

[382] Henry Corbin (1903–1978), French religious scholar, specialized in Sufism, Islamic mysticism.

[383] Louis Massignon (1883–1962), French Islamic scholar.

[384] Père Bruno de Jésus-Marie (1892–1962), Member of the Order of the Discalced Carmelites, published on mystical but also psychological subjects, and also on Satan.

[385] This refers to the periodical *Etudes carmélitaines mystiques et missionnaires*, Paris, from 1911.

describe facts that, unlike philosophical terms, do not exhaust themselves with the sound of their own words, or simply put: they do not indicate the factual nature of what is being described unless someone already knows already what the content of the concept is. I've thoroughly critiqued the book and thereby embarrassed dear Père Bruno in no small way. I'm also currently corresponding with a Benedictine father from Ettal Abbey, Upper Bavaria, who is recounting his mystical experiences to me, all in the style of the 13th century.[386] The Dominican Father White[387] will give a series of lectures at the Institute[388] at the end of April; and a theology student from the Canisianum[389] in Innsbruck wants to visit me. He [White] hopes to be able to link Thomist psychology[390] to mine. Of course, once again the incommensurability of concepts is a great hindrance here.

Recently I made the acquaintance of Gerald Sykes,[391] who has become known through his book *The Nice American*. He writes social-critical novels and will, he informs me, write about my *Job*. By the way, he [White] has also discussed my *Psychology and Alchemy* in America.

I don't know if you know Laurens van der Post.[392] He was recently here on behalf of the BBC. I mention these contacts only so that you may rest assured that I've not yet suffocated in the narrow confines of the Club.

With best wishes,
Your [Carl]

—

[386] This Benedictine monk cannot be verified due to a lack of information.

[387] First mention of White in any of Jung's letters to Keller. Victor Francis White (1902–1960) was enthusiastic about Complex Psychology at the start of his correspondence with Jung in 1945. His works include *Soul and Psyche*, *God and the Unconscious,* and *God the Unknown and Other Essays*. On White, see II "On the Letters" above, p. 94 and footnotes 59 on p. 103 and 65 on p. 104 and letters 59, 60, 62, 63 and footnotes 387 on p. 199 and 406 on p. 202.

[388] I.e., in the C. G. Jung Institut in Zurich.

[389] The Canisianum, an international Jesuit seminary in Innsbruck was founded in1858.

[390] Thomas Aquinas, Dominican, leading theologian of the thirteenth century and the Roman Catholic church in general to this day. White was a Thomist. On 8 January 1955 he had written from California where he had been transferred as a disciplinary measure due to his psychological interests that he would hold seminars at the Institute: "Talking of opposites, I stumbled recently on a passage in St. Thomas Aquinas which rather remarkably confirms the view that our differences about *privatio boni* is one of functions. It is in the Summa Theologica . . . and says . . . 'Malum enim . . . est privatio bonum.'" (*The Jung-White Letters*, p. 255).

[391] Gerald Sykes (1904–1984), American author, philosopher, and critic. This novel is about military men moving into post-war American political leadership.

[392] Laurens van der Post (1906–1996), South-African/British soldier, writer, and explorer who interviewed Jung in 1955.

57 Keller[393]

Los Angeles, 1 April 1955

Dear friend,

Thanks for the information regarding the volume I hoped for on your cultural psychological significance! Schopenhauer would have repeated damnati sint qui mea ante nos dixerunt.[394] It is really a significant problem that it's mostly Catholic theologians who are engaging with your psychology, something that can't be attributed only to their Marian doctrine. However, *Job* will give even them something to grapple with, especially when they recall how Nietzsche in *Ecce homo* actually resolved the quaternity and equated the identity of the snake in paradise, thus of the Yahweh-friendly Satan, with Yahweh himself,[395] a spine-chilling position that would terrify psychologists and theologians if they couldn't take cover behind the objection that it did not refer to the mysterium of God himself, but to the development of the human consciousness of God. A German wrote about this recently: what we need is not more dogmatics (or such like) but more Jung.

I simply cannot get to grips with the idea that Protestant theology is now supposed to leave everything to the Catholics, particularly as sooner or later a more systematic reinterpretation or restriction will be forthcoming from the Vatican. Your differentiation of psychology and philosophy is a temporary reprieve. I don't know Van der Post, but I'm getting to know Wylie[396] better, as well as a whole group who make use of you in their counseling. I haven't yet met Sykes. However, I know Luce,[397] the head of *Time,* and I told him that in this picture of you the artist had given a strong sense of what has distinguished Lutherans from Calvinists since

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[393] L T (airmail) 21 302. Keller's emphases.

[394] Damnati sint qui mea ante nos dixerunt (Latin) = damned be those who have expressed what is mine before us. (Colloquially: I do not give a damn if what I say today has been said by someone else before me!)

[395] Cf. Friedrich Nietzsche, *Ecce Homo*,1911, p.116: "Speaking theologically—one should listen, since I rarely speak as a theologian–it was God himself who at the end of his day's work laid himself under the tree of knowledge as a snake: thus he rested from being God. He had made everything too beautiful. The devil is merely God's moment of idleness on that seventh day."

[396] Cf. letter 52, footnote 347 on p. 192.

[397] Henry Luce (1898–1967), American publisher who founded the journals *Time* (1923) and *Life* (1936).

Augustine's day: Finitum capax Infiniti, thus not as the Reformed teach us: Finitum *non* capax Infiniti.[398]

All around me it's not only the 80-year olds who are dying but also those in their 70s and even 60s, for the American heart lives too fast and is too extraverted. The European grows quiet at the sight of this and coolly holds to that epitaph: Ici git J Trivulzio fils d'Antoine qui ne s'est jamais reposé et qui se repose maintenant. Silence![399] But Psalm 90 is even more positive. I remain here until 20 April, then have a month on the East Coast and hope to be back in Zurich at the beginning of June and then to see how much your transcendent face corresponds with everyday reality.

With warm greetings, also to Emma,
Your Adolf Keller

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[398] Finitum capax infiniti (Latin) = The finite is capable of the infinite. Finitum non capax Infiniti (Latin) = The finite is not capable of the infinite. Regarding the Eucharistic controversy between the Lutheran and the Reformed churches, the confessional conflict was often summed up by this formula.

In the Lutheran view, the body and blood of Christ is actually present in, with and in the midst of the bread. In Reformed doctrine, the body and blood of Christ are in heaven and are not directly present. The typical Reform axiom (in contrast to Lutheranism and Catholicism) "finitum non est capax infiniti" goes back to the Antiochian school of theology of late antiquity, and was newly emphasized around 1920 in the dialectic theology of the young Karl Barth: "God is in heaven and you are on earth," Cf. I, 3b).

[399] Ici git J Trivulzio fils d'Antoine qui ne s'est jamais reposé et qui se repose maintenant. Silence! (French) = "Here lies Gian-Giacomo the Great Trivultius, son of Antonius, who has never rested and who is now at peace. Silence!" Keller evidently took this quotation from a French publication. The original is Latin: IO[ANNES] IACOBUS MAGNUS TRIVULTIUS ANTONII FILIUS QUI NUNQUAM QUIEVIT. QUIESCIT. TACE. The inscription is taken from the sarcophagus of Gian-Giacomo Trivulzio (1440/41 or 1448–1518), Italian-French military leader, in the Basilica di San Nazaro in Brolo, Milan.

58 Jung[400]

Küsnacht, 5 April 1955

Dear friend,

The significance of the Aquarius saying is this: "Lucifer inflames the evil powers of Aquarius."[401] Aquarius is not necessarily benign towards man. As a double sign it has another aspect, like Pisces.[402]

With best wishes
Your [Carl]

—

59 Keller[403]

Los Angeles, 10 April 1955

Dear friend,

I'm having more conversations about Jung here than I do in Zurich. Interest is growing noticeably. However, the Job question is only now starting to niggle. It is good that RP[404] White[405] in *Blackfriars* in March '55[406] perhaps skilfully contained the potential criticism and "stole their

[400] L T 22 024. To Keller in Los Angeles.

[401] See letter 55.

[402] On astrological signs cf. footnotes 372–375 on p. 197.

[403] L H (airmail) 21 301. Some words are almost illegible; see square brackets.

[404] RP = Reverendus Pater, common from of address to a monk priest.

[405] Cf. letters 56, 57, 60, and 62.

[406] *Blackfriars:* a theological periodical founded in 1920 by the English Dominicans, entitled *New Blackfriars* since 1964 after a merger with another publication. As early as spring 1952 after White had voiced cautiously critical remarks about *Answer to Job* in a letter to Jung (see "On the Letters" above II, p. 103), in 1955 he wrote incisively and fundamentally in disagreement with Jung: *Blackfriars*, Volume XXXI, March 1955, pp. 52–60, Victor White, O.P.("Jung on Job"). Keller cites four places in bold from this in letter 59. White in *Blackfriars*: "Job's idol of a merely intelligible and amiable God must be smashed" (52). God is not "an indulgent Daddy," but "also the mysterium tremendum" [cf. Rudolf Otto: *Das Heilige*, p. 13] (53). "Job emerges from the ordeal the adult man Yahweh had repeatedly urged him to be. . . . And one might suppose that Dr. Jung would be very pleased. But he is not pleased at all: he is very—we might say blindly—angry" (54). "It is not surprising that some of Jung's friends, jealous for his honor in his old age, . . . have regretted the publication of this document. . . . But Jung hardly invites their benevolence. Such a *reduction ad impossible* [Latin = Reduction to the impossible], of the private interpretation of Scripture . . . *must seem a cruel caricature*. . . . Catholics . . . will be hesitant to open their arms to this *gift-bearing Greek*"(55). "Jung has remarked elsewhere that there must be continual misunderstanding between the theologian and the empirical psychologist over

thunder"[407] so that the critique was carefully reframed and correctly interpreted. The art of reinterpretation is generally becoming a new form of repentance without anything hurting too much. The Wylie book[408] is also being discussed here in a closed circle; Wylie has spoiled anything broader with his all too cavalier comments. Baudouin[409] asked me to write an article for his bulletin. I might have done this for the bigger Interpretations book, [410] but a small periodical has too little space and I'm not going to run with the pack and bark in unison. Do you agree with the retranslation of your complex psychology into the Catholic framework? Of course you are protected, like Flournoy, by restricting it to the psychological domain—and thus to the God-consciousness of man. But Schleiermacher also did that when he defined religion as the "feeling of utter dependency."[411] Or when Albert Schweitzer interprets it as "reverence for

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the use of the word 'God;' for the 'theologian will naturally assume that the metaphysical *Ends Absolutism* [Latin = the absolute being] is meant," while the empiricist "just as naturally means a mere statement, at most an archetypal motif. . . .'"(56). "Thus . . . he is talking about end psychic images considered as psychological phenomena. . . . Jung deliberately reads the Scriptures through a pair of highly *distorting spectacles*. Although he is not writing of God, but of God-images, he is not writing directly of Job's images of God, but rather of his own images of Job's images. This method effectively obscures an objective and dispassionate reading of the Scriptures against their own authentic historical background: it is an interpretation of 'God' at several removes. Its aim is '. . . a purely subjective reaction'" (57). "It is an angry book, but it is an anger born of experience and compassion for mankind . . ." (58). "A Christian reader should hear, beneath all the provocation, behind the seeming of mockery of all he holds most sacred and most dear, a profoundly moving cry of anguish, a reproachful signal of distress" (59).

Jung wrote White in response: "You should be glad that somebody thinks about God at all. . . . Your criticism of my motive concerning 'Job' is certainly unjust and you know it" (Jung to White, 2. April 1955, in: *The Jung-White Letters*, p. 262). Cf. letter 42 and letters 56, 57–60, and 62.

[407] stole their thunder.

[408] Cf. on letter 52 and footnote 347 on p. 192.

[409] Charles Baudouin (1893–1963), student of Freud and Jung, was an unorthodox, not clearly designated, analyst. In 1924 he founded an Institute in Geneva, from which emerged the *Institut International de psychoanalyse et de psychologie*. He was in contact with Adolf and Tina Keller, and wrote the foreword to Tina Keller's book *Lame et les nerves*; see letters 8 and 60.

[410] Cf. the book mentioned by Jung in letter 56.

[411] Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834): *Der christliche Glaube nach den Grundsätzen der evangelischen Kirche im Zusammenhang dargestellt*, 7th ed., volume 1 (Ed. Martin Redeker), Berlin, 1960, 23: "What is common to all the various expressions of piety and also distinguishes them from all other feelings than the essence of piety itself is this: that we are conscious of being absolutely dependent, or to put it another way, we are conscious of a relationship with God." On Flournoy see I, 1a), I, 2b) and I, 2c).

life."[412] I have not seen *Dominican Studies*.[413] Now even White calls [Jung's] interpretation "impossible," [in *Blackfriars* p.55] and "a cruel caricature," but despite this White fears your Marian enlightenment: timeo Danaos et dona ferentes.(p.55).[414] I'd have liked to be there when White speaks at the Institute.[415] I wonder whether you will get into conversation with him then about the "distorting spectacles" (p. 57).[416] But Protestant theology is not working out these conflicts with the same dialectical appreciation and critique. I fear that, after your *Job*, American Protestantism will not adopt a condominium[417] like Rome's. You'll probably reply to this criticism at some point, perhaps rather to the Roman Catholic version than the Protestant.

Speaking of analyzing complexes, Aldous Huxley gave a lecture here in which he also criticized its restriction to the psychological, attributing other, higher levels of being to spiritual existence behind the archetypes. So he hasn't learned much from Flournoy's excursion *From India to the Planet Mars*.[418] Count Durckheim[419] who is much read here will undertake similar transformations with his interpretation of Zen Buddhism.

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[412] Cf. Albert Schweitzer (1875–1965): *Aus meinem Leben und Denken*, unabridged edition, Hamburg, Richard Meiner 1959, p. 132. (*Out of My Life and Thought: An Autobiography* (English translation 1933, George Allen & Unwin, Woking) Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998 edition with foreword by Jimmy Carter). See *letters 73–76*. Jung wrote Upton Sinclair on 3. November 1952, that he had enthusiastically read "A. Schweitzer's work in later years," namely his *Geschichte der Leben-Jesu-Forschung,* Tubingen, Mohr 1913. (*The Quest of the Historical Jesus*, 1906) In *C. G. Jung Letters* II, p. 87 and footnote 5).

[413] *Dominican Studies*, London, Blackfriars Publications, theological journal since 1911. Jung's *Answer to Job* was also openly severely attacked in this publication, which should not be confused with *Blackfriars*.

[414] (Quidquid id est,) timeo Danaos et dona ferentes (Latin) = (whatever it may be) I fear the Greeks bearing gifts. Vergil: *Aeneid* 2, 48 (Warning by the priest Laokoon before the Trojan horse). This quote refers to Jung's "Marian enlightenment" i.e., his interpretation of the assumptio Mariae. White writes in *Blackfriars, 55* that the Catholics will be hesitant, "to open their arms to this gift-bearing Greek [Jung]," since he understands the assumption differently from Pope Pius XII.

[415] I.e., in the *C. G. Jung-Institute* in Zurich.

[416] = distorting spectacles

[417] Condominium (Latin) = i.e., an amicable arrangement with Jung.

[418] Théodore Flournoy: *From India to the Planet Mars*, *A Study of a Case of Somnambulism*, 1900, New York.

[419] Karl von Dürckheim-Montmartin (1896–1988), German diplomat, psychotherapist, and Zen teacher.

By the way have you in fact read Old Testament scholar Duhm's comments[420] on Job? He was my teacher and was open to spiritualist interpretations of psychological experience.

With warm greetings, also to Emma,
Your A.K.

—

60 Keller[421]

Los Angeles, 20 April 1955

Dear friend,

Today I saw your interview in the *Weltwoche*[422] for the first time. Even for friends whom I have known for 40 years or whom I thought I knew, this confession is "revealing," disarming, and inviting. I wished I'd already seen it last week when the Club here[423] asked me to write something about you. Consequently I'll take up Baudouin's request and write a few pages for him.[424] I have suggested to the publisher that they give this interview wider exposure, also in the English-speaking world, and I know that our friend Sinclair,[425] whose article and reply I read as well as White's critique in *Blackfriars*,[426] would want this. A newspaper interests me less

[420] Bernhard Duhm (1847–1928), a significant Old Testament scholar. Advocate of historical-critical exegesis of the Bible, who worked on the book of Job. See above I, 1a) and II "On the Letters" p. 101 and footnote 51 on p. 101.

[421] L H 21 303 (Airmail). Keller's emphases.

[422] See Georg Gerster, *Seelenarzt und Gottesglaube. Eine Stunde mit Professor Dr. med. C. G. Jung*, in *Weltwoche*, 1 April 1955, 23. Jg. 7. According to Gerster, Jung emphasized that God was the overwhelming psychic factor. The crucial value in an individual soul compelled that faith or that fear, that is, submission or surrender which God can require from man. Jung also said that the problems of people over the age of 35 who sought him out were ultimately always religious in nature. The experience of the meaningful transcendence of the unconscious is "religious." But psychology can only determine that over the archetypal track laid in the soul a "psychic shove from the unconscious" appears as "the voice of God" for the one subjectively affected by it. Whether this is "a metaphysical God," Jung says, he cannot judge. "As a doctor of the soul I must be familiar with this archetype of God and the psychic mechanisms it serves. Whether this is placed in the soul of man by a metaphysical God—I cannot permit myself an opinion about this." Georg Gerster also wrote the article for Jung's 80th birthday in *Weltwoche*, 22 July 1955, 23. Jg. 7.

[423] C. G. Jung-Club in Los Angeles.

[424] Cf. letter 59.

[425] Cf. re letter 52.

[426] Cf. re letter 59 and footnote 406 on p. 202.

than a large cultural periodical such as the *Atlantic* or *Harpers* or *Yale Review*.[427] But perhaps this is already in hand: what you say yourself here [in the *Weltwoche*] about the nature and value of *religious experience* extends far beyond every debate that I have seen. Since it originates from a place of humility and honesty, it is a new bridge. I spoke about it with a fine doctor here, Dr. Polliac,[428] who is on the path from medical chemistry to psychosomatics and to your experience.

I'd almost advocate that this confession[429] come out as a separate booklet in a special edition [and] with a different title, and be distributed as an educational pamphlet for a particular circle. If Carl J. Burckhardt[430] had his thoughts on Kaiser Karl V[431] published, why shouldn't he also publish such thoughts on Carl G.!

With warm wishes, also
to Emma,
Your Ad. Keller

—

61 Jung[432]

[Küsnacht], 11 July 1955

Dear friend,

My warmest thanks for your kind letter and especially for taking the trouble to venture a spiritual alliance with me. However, whether journalistic interviews are appropriate for this is another question. If you believe you have "deeply and seriously" engaged with my position on the gospel in this way, then I cannot completely concur with you. Of course you'll find

[427] *The Atlantic Journal* was founded in 1883; *Harper's Magazine* is a monthly "center left" journal on literature, politics, culture, economics, and art founded in 1850. *The Yale Review* originated in 1819, when some university professors founded a publication firstly as *The Christian Spectator,* then as *The New Englander*, and since 1892 under its current name, dedicated to the discussion of national and international politics, economics, and history.

[428] Cannot be verified, as there are many doctors with this name.

[429] Jung's "confession [of faith]" refers to the interview in *Weltwoche*.

[430] Carl J. Burckhardt (1891–1974), historian and diplomat, 1945–1948 president of the IKRK.

[431] Karl V., German Kaiser 1520–1551. This refers to Carl Jacob Burckhardt: *Gedanken über Karl V.*, München, Hermann Rinn, 1954 and many later editions.

[432] L T 22 025. Jung's emphases. Jung's letter must have been preceded by a letter from Keller in which he asked "So where then is Christ?" Cf. letter 62 below, points 3 and 4.

nothing to enlighten you about my view of Christ in a *Daily Mail* article[433] copied from the Zuricher weekly newspaper,[434] so your rhetorical question: "So where then is Christ?" remains unanswered. You are quite unaware that I wrote a book on this question years ago. If you want to speak about my views, then I must ask you not to rely on newspaper articles, but to take account of what *I* have written about it. I do not wish in any way to force you to read me. I'll settle for the allegiance and loyalty of your feelings as hitherto, regretting the fact that a spiritual conversation does not seem to be possible. In this respect you are no exception among theologians; all too often I have felt the icy contempt that these theologians feel towards a thinking lay-person while their lips preach Christian love. Once an excellent theologian responded completely correctly to my enquiry whether he be pastor or doctor. He replied, "Theology has nothing to do with the knowledge of man." Whether God is pleased by such an attitude is another story. If I'm not mistaken, did he not appeal to all of humanity through his incarnation, not exclusively to professors of theology: were these not in fact originally the "Pharisees?"

I don't want to ascribe to you a *conscious* attitude of this kind, but the effect of your inadequate orientation unavoidably bears a certain resemblance to such mindlessness.

For the sympathy of your feeling I am genuinely grateful, but as for the rest, we had better draw a veil over it.[435]

With best wishes,
Your [Carl]

—

62 Keller[436]

Zurich, 16 July 1955

Dear friend,

Since it is only days until your 80th birthday, for which I was sending you a personal greeting[437] and not a scholarly treatise, I have no intention of

[433] *Daily Mail*, British newspaper: in letter 62 it is referred to as the *Daily News*. It presumably refers to the *Daily News* (in Sonu Shamdasani's opinion, 17 December 2012).

[434] *Die Weltwoche*, see footnote II, 1080.

[435] Swiss German: "is Chämi schriibe," i.e., one can draw a veil over it, forget about it.

[436] L T 21 304. Keller's emphases.

[437] Letter 62 was preceded by a missing letter from Keller on the occasion of Jung's eightieth birthday.

encumbering you with explanations that you have already "drawn a veil over."[438] So in brief here—the rest can follow later—I simply want you to understand that, for me, the debate with you takes place within a far broader context than what a psychological school allows.

Nevertheless, I don't want to leave you in any doubt, even a day longer, about the state of my "journalistic attitude" and "inadequate orientation," so as to prevent the further development of a myth. I ask you most kindly to note this hasty but necessary reply:

1 It is incorrect to think that in my involvement with you I rely solely on *journalistic reports*. I have probably read everything you have ever published on the relationship between psychology and religion, and have often defended you to theologians when they have misunderstood your deliberate confinement to psychological experience.[439]
2 The *Daily News*[440] is, of course, a poor example of this journalistic superficiality, which, in this instance, as I immediately said to my wife, has rather damaged you in public opinion. But is the report by Gerster[441] in the *Weltwoche,* with its copious citation of your own words, completely *incorrect* and therefore not to be published as a *quotation*? Or is a debate such as that in the Dominican journal *Blackfriars* of March 1955[442] simply to be dismissed as frivolous journalism? This is a serious theological debate in which all of us are taking part, including the Catholics, the Orthodox, the Protestants, and the Jews. The question here is whether these theologians who cite you have lied, not only in scholarly debate, like Reverend White and some others in America, or whether they have crassly misinterpreted and misunderstood you, like the padre in Belgium.
3 The question I put to you is therefore not merely a superficial or personal one, but rather it addresses the author of the *Job* book and the statements about Christ, asked by theology as a whole and also in part by philosophy. This question cannot therefore simply

[438] Cf. letter 61.

[439] Jung himself repeatedly stressed that he relied on experience alone. This is however contested by countless experts; see for example, Kurt Niederwimmer.

[440] *Daily News*: there are several newspapers with this name so the allusion cannot be verified; it is possibly the New York newspaper. Cf. letter 61, footnote 433 on p. 207.

[441] Gerster in *Weltwoche,* 1 April 1955, 23. Vol. 7. Cf. letter 60.

[442] Cf. letter 59.

and unkindly be brushed off as superficial journalism or as a misrepresentation.

4 Thus, my question did not concern the bibliographical evidence for your remarks, which I am well acquainted with, but the much more important point:—whether a religious-psychological expression of experience really corresponds to faith, being Christendom's relationship of trust in Christ.

But now I am touching on a debate that you have missed. I did not enlighten you about it out of respect for your time, and for the theoretical and practical knowledge you have already extended to us that we know well. For this reason I will stop here, in spite of your patronizing misinterpretation and distortions, and insist on expressing my heartfelt thanks on the occasion of your 80th birthday, in enduring spiritual debate and with all the gains for my personal development and my theological and cultural work on a completely general problem.

I do not stand where you presume I do. You will read this in the next few days in the short article I have already written for your birthday, in which I take up not only psychology, but also the *incarnation* that tells us, not that λόγος θεολογία ἐγένετο [the word became theology], but rather σὰρξ ἐγένετο [the word became flesh].[443]

In such painful misunderstandings I can only think of the 12th house of my horoscope,[444] also known to your daughter,[445] which is generously

[443] "The word did not become theology, but flesh." After John 1:14.

[444] 12th house, astrological term. Keller was not entirely averse to astrology. Astrologer and Jung expert, Irene Mittag of St. Gallen, suggested in a conversation on 4. February 2013, that in the 12th house reside, in close proximity, deceptions, disappointments, redemption, resolution, and denouement, surrender and selflessness, comprehensive understanding and holistic perception. This area in a horoscope leads furthest away from the everyday, from private life, from the usual, personal perceptions, sensations, drives, and activities, from predictability, advantages, and successes. Mittag stresses that astrology asserts that divine transcendence also belongs in the 12th house. As an Aquarius (date of birth: 7 February), Keller was engaged through his 12th house in the service of others, and in their wellbeing; he could not bear inequality, and felt misunderstood in his striving for unity. However, he showed the ability to be persistent. It is "typically Aquarius" that he repeatedly talked to Jung about the same things. Jung, on the other hand, is astrologically a "Leo," with a pantheistic orientation. As a "king" he was accustomed to hierarchies, but always showed wisdom in this respect. Probably as a result of the early quarrels with Freud, he was unapproachable and sensitive. He was often subject to false accusations and "lowered his visor" in self-protection; Keller, on the other hand, often wanted to "raise the visor" in his need for harmony with and closeness to Jung.

[445] Jung's second daughter, Gret Baumann-Jung (1906–1995), was an astrologer.

riddled with reactions that depend perhaps in part on my relationship with other people, but also in many ways on a complex attitude to myself.

This letter in no way diminishes my personal estimation of your impressive achievements and your inspired intuition which I have stressed so often, even in the face of the criticism coming constantly from other quarters, whether psychological or theological or cultural-philosophical. For my part, I shall gladly sweep under the veil what I take to be your misunderstanding. As ever, I offer you on your birthday all that belongs to an extremely positive human relationship, along with all the mutual criticism that has its place within that too.

Your Adolf Keller

—

63 Keller[446]

Los Angeles, 4 August 1956

Dear friend,

Your last letter was a kind of farewell,[447] to which everyone is entitled once they have turned 70 and have had enough of people and so simply give up on them with kind words and a goodbye.

If I am writing to you in spite of that, it is for this reason: alongside the now widespread ecumenical movement here in which I have played my part, one finds American fundamentalism and the great anonymous church of those who no longer need a church. But as you well know, the process of forming a congregation still persists. And something has arisen here that has a certain affinity with complex psychology and its religious devotees. It has recognized, like the Catholic church, (I am thinking of the article by the Dominican White in *Blackfriars*)[448] that there is something in our new understanding of human nature and individuation which cannot simply be dismissed as a critique, even a necessary one, but must be considered and worked through. This is what so-called *New Thought*[449]

[446] L T 22 688, airmail, quite illegible. Keller's emphases.

[447] This refers to Jung's letter of 11 July 1955 (letter 61).

[448] Cf. letter 59.

[449] Cf. Georg Schmid and Georg Otto Schmid (Eds.): *Kirchen, Sekten, Religionen. Religiöse Gemeinschaften, weltanschauliche Gruppierungen und Psycho-Organisationen im deutschen Sprachraum,* 199–201: "New Thought" originated in the nineteenth century. It is based on the life philosophies of Phineas Parkhurst Quimby (1802–1866) and on the "transcendentalism" of the philosopher Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803–1882).

is now doing, to the great dismay[450] of other churches, by building a community that leaves much room for freedom and necessity in the formation of man and his communal arrangements.

The movement's leaders are Dr. Holmes[451] and Dr. Fareed,[452] whose father was acquainted with you and had great respect for you, and whose son Omar visited you last time. Among them just now is a Dr. Hornaday[453] who has the biggest congregation here, but who feels that he himself needs an individuation. Someone wants to pay his way to Zurich for him so that he can study the situation there. Since he is not a doctor, but a minister and theologian—although open and aware of the new things that can enrich theology—he certainly has much to gain, not least his

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The twentieth-century Californian variant of "Christian Science" founded by Mary Baker Eddy is also part of "New Thought." It could be described as typical of American optimism with its belief in progress, one that embraces a spiritual life philosophy. Common to followers of "New Thought" is the emphasis on the close connection between human psychic and bodily states. It comprises a "dynamic idealism" and a "theory applied in daily life of the sovereign power of human thought" (199) that proves itself in relation to illness, poverty, and other evils. It draws on many sources, although the Christian biblical approach dominates for most followers. While the Catholic and Protestant churches did not consider "New Thought" a sect, but a special religious community, the editor's opinion states: "Compared with the Christian understanding of human existence, the New Thought movement overburdens the capabilities of the human spirit, chiefly of human thought. Suffering and negativity are—as the cross of Christ symbolically reminds us—realities which cannot be abolished with correct positive thinking" (201).

[450] Tort (French.) = here: dismay.

[451] American Ernest Shurtleff Holmes (1887–1960) was one of the best-known representatives of "New Thought." In 1926 he wrote *Science of Mind* and thus gave a decisive boost to the New Thought movement in California.

[452] Dr. Omar J. Fareed, the son, specialist in psychosomatic medicine and professor at the medical school of the University of Chicago (according to the *University of Chicago Record*, Volume 31, Number 3, February 20, 1997, p. 5, died in 1996). With Holmes he founded the Foundation for Human Relations in Los Angeles where Adolf Keller was also active. Source: Alice Strigl (Ed.), *Schöpferische Expansion: können wir kreativer, sensibler, wacher werden?*, Vienna, Bühlau, 2008, p. 96 and p. 426. Fareed accompanied Keller on his trip to Lambarene, see letters pp. 73ff.

[453] William H. D. Hornaday (1911–1992) came from a Methodist minister dynasty, studied with Barth and Niebuhr, completed his doctorate in 1952, was minister of the Founder's Church of Religious Science *in* Los Angeles, a congregation of 7000 members, was engaged in social and humanitarian work, spoke often on television, and was appointed by Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson to state commissions. Hornaday wrote Jung on 3 October 1956: "My beloved friend, Dr. Adolph Keller, has revealed to me your willingness to see me during the semester at the Institute. . . . The major portion of the ministry of all faiths here in the United States is deeply interested in depth psychology and its application to education and pastoral relationship." (C. G. Jung archive, ETH Hs 1056: 24 037) Hornaday was probably Keller's closest American friend; see letters 68ff.

personal individuation which as yet he lacks. It seems to me that the *New Thought* movement—which of course sounds too intellectual—has possibilities for connection that neither the Protestant nor the Catholic churches have. For Protestant theology wants to commit itself not only on the role of *gnosis*, and the Catholic Church criticizes something else again, although it considers depth psychology to be comprehensive enough to assimilate a great deal in the way that White demonstrated in *Blackfriars*.[454]

Now my practical question: we're not speaking of a personal analysis with you, but rather a personal visit and a nurturing conversation. Would you have time at some point in the course of the year to receive him? When would be the best time for you if you were able to do this? Naturally, he would also like to see other people, including theologians, and I would facilitate this for him, also with Schär,[455] for example, and with people from the Institute.[456]

They (the members of *New Thought*), along with Fareed and Holmes, also have a kind of institute[457] that naturally could be very receptive, and is attended by a number of doctors that have some contact with the C. G. Jung group here.

Now something personal: I wrote to you and your children on the death of Emma whose loss I continue to mourn. *I never heard whether you or your children received my letter*.[458] I didn't expect you to enter into a correspondence, but I do not know whether Tina—who also wrote—at least received a formal expression of thanks. I take it for granted that I am not identified with her relationship to you.[459] But I have actively thought about your children and would like them to know this. Perhaps one of them will write to me to let me know if they saw my letter, which was written from a place of deeper affinity than the

[454] Cf. letter 59.

[455] Hans Schär was deeply connected with Jung and his wife Emma, and also taught at the C. G. Jung Institute in Zurich. His best-known works were *Religion und Seele in der Psychologie C. G. Jungs* (as diss. 1946), Olten, Walter, 1950; *Erlösungsvorstellungen und ihre psychologischen Aspekte* (Zurich: Rascher, 1950); and *Seelsorge und Psychotherapie,* Zurich, Rascher, 1961. Like Keller, Schär read Jung's manuscript of *Answer to Job;* cf. letter 38 and footnote II, 924 and II "On the Letters" above, p. 102 and footnotes 132 on p. 84 and 57 on p. 103.

[456] *C. G. Jung Institute* in Zurich.

[457] On the "Institute" in Los Angeles, see letter 65, footnote 480 on p. 216.

[458] Keller's letter of condolence does not appear to have been preserved.

[459] On Tina Keller and Jung,, cf. letter 69 and I, 2i), p. 54 above.

Club enjoys, deeper even than our infrequent personal dealings would suggest.[460]

Are the Mellons[461] whom you know the ones who also built a chapel for Dr Albert Schweitzer in their hospital in Haiti?[462] From time to time here I have a word with your book dealer,[463] who is very keen on your books.

I feel very well here, and it is good for my health that I have plenty of time to express my introversion. I keep quiet and allow the sun to shine. And my son[464] who saw you once[465] has found his father here so I have connections with family and will therefore not be returning so hastily to the conformism and officialdom of Zurich. A few months ago I flew over the Grand Canyon from New York to Los Angeles, but when I recently read the horrifying reports of collisions and crashes in the Canyon, I almost felt like the rider across the Bodensee.[466]

But I continue to live happily all the same, even in my 85th year, and probably have the puer aeternus[467] to thank for this who, after all, does not have only a negative aspect.

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[460] At this point there is a note from A. J. (Aniela Jaffé) saying: "I will sort this out." Keller evidently considers himself one of the closest of Jung's surviving friends.

[461] Thanks to his father, Paul Mellon (1907–1999) was one of the richest Americans of his generation. He was a patron and art collector, and in 1941 founded the *Old Dominion* and various other foundations. C. G. Jung first met Paul Mellon and his wife Mary Conover Mellon (1904–1946) in 1936 in the United States, where they expressed the wish to be analyzed by him in Switzerland. In 1938 they participated in Jung's Zarathustra seminar in Zurich. Mary Conover Mellon facilitated a trip to the United States for Olga Fröbe-Kapteyn in the spring of 1941 (see letter 9). In 1941 Mary was the driving force behind the establishment of the *Bollingen Foundation* (named after Jung's "tower" in Bollingen), with an office in Washington in 1945, for the publication of all of Jung's writings in English. In 1942 the work had to be put on ice due to the American law against "trading with the enemy." Moreover Mary Mellon came under pressure due to her connection with Olga Fröbe-Kapteyn. After Mary Mellon died suddenly in 1946, her husband Paul Mellon took on the leadership of the Bollingen Foundation, which continued until 1968. Cf. Mellon's memoir, *Reflections in a Silver Spoon*, 1992, William Morrow.

[462] In Haiti there is still a hospital named after Albert Schweitzer. See letter 64 and letters 73ff.

[463] On the Pickwick bookshop, cf. letter 65.

[464] Paul, the Kellers' elder son, had emigrated to California as a young man.

[465] Paul had experienced a difficult puberty and therefore had been in therapy with Jung.

[466] *Der Reiter und der Bodensee* is a ballad by Gustav Schwab (1792–1850) in which a horseman, after crossing the frozen Bodensee unawares and realizing his great danger only after safely reaching the other shore, falls dead from his horse.

[467] Puer aeternus (Latin) = the "eternal boy." Cf. letter 44, footnote 312 on p. 185.

Wylie[468] wrote me and asked after you. I believe you stayed with him when you were doing the Terry Lectures.[469]

With best wishes, also to your children,
Your Adolf Keller

—

64 Jung[470]

[Küsnacht], [day?] August 1956

Dear friend,

My last letter to you in no way was meant as a farewell; I was simply airing my vexation that you had overlooked just how much I have engaged with the psychology of the Christ-concept. I'm still of the view that Protestant theologians have every reason to grapple earnestly with my ideas, for otherwise what will happen in India and has already happened in China might happen here: that traditional religious ideas will founder on their literalism, or, becoming indigestible, will be spat out wholesale. The same thing could befall us that has happened in China, where a philosopher like Hu-Schih,[471] for example, is ashamed of knowing anything about the *I Ching*[,] and where the depth of the Tao concept has disappeared and instead they worship locomotives and airplanes. These days hardly any Protestant theologians have a clue about what psychology might mean for them.

Yesterday Professor Haendler from Berlin was here; he lives in the Eastern zone and therefore has a remarkable understanding of my psychology.[472]

As far as your inquiry is concerned, I'm quite willing to meet with your colleague and give him the opportunity to talk things over. I can't commit to an analysis as you rightly surmise, for that would be too

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[468] Cf. letter 52.

[469] Given in 1937 by Jung at Yale, see above I, 3d), p. 75.

[470] L T 23 378. This letter is excerpted in *C. G. Jung Letters* III, p. 48; *C. G. Jung; Letters*, ibid., 322.

[471] Hu-Shih (1891–1942), Chinese philosopher and diplomat, ambassador to the United States from1938–1942. He wrote *The Chinese Renaissance*, Chicago, 1934.

[472] Jung thinks Haendler will be particularly open to psychology due to the situation in the GDR. On Otto Haendler, see p. 84 and footnotes 131 on p. 84 and 125 on p. 113.

demanding for me. I'd propose the second half of October or the beginning of November as the best time.

As far as the acknowledgement of your and your wife's letters of sympathy is concerned, unfortunately I can't throw any light on it. That was a time when I simply couldn't attend to these things.[473] My children sorted everything out. I have asked my secretary to liaise with my children. If something has been overlooked, then I am sincerely sorry.

I suppose that the Paul Mellon Foundation[474] also supported Albert Schweitzer. I'm personally doing quite well.

With kind greetings
[Carl]

—

65 Keller[475]

Los Angeles, 2 September 1956

Dear friend,

Thank you for your letter of August. I would have been able to bear your "vexation" more easily than a "farewell." In the "inadequate debate" you must differentiate between:

1 those who do not know and who are therefore unable—forgive them for they know not what they do;[476]
2 those who know and desire but who seek out for themselves the locus[477] of a debate's strategic usefulness, wanting to let the *kairos*[478] be granted to them from inward conviction rather than be invited to it from outside. For example, many consider *Job* to be an unsuitable opportunity, because too much debris would first have to be cleared away, and the debate is more productive when it doesn't turn polemical from the outset.

[473] Evidently Jung was unable to read or reply to letters of sympathy due to his great loss.
[474] Cf. letters 63 and 65.
[475] L T 22 689. (Copy, presumably by Keller's secretary Elisa Perini.)
[476] Luke 23:34.
[477] Locus (Latin) = location.
[478] Kairos (Greek = the right, fitting moment in time; the moment of decision.

3 those who are seeking the place for this debate in the contemporary relationship with the soul, with culture and religion in general;
4 those who put the question more personally. The relationship to Christ hinges on this question: on objective knowledge, as if he is himself an object—or on an inner encounter, arising from integrity and decision.

There are many today who no longer answer the old Augustinian and Thomist question as the Catholics and Lutherans do: *Finitum capax infiniti*, nor like the Calvinists: *Finitum non capax infiniti*,[479] but in the sense of an alternative because both can be true and possible.

More people here are engaging with you than you imagine. Based on your Terry lecture,[480] even Dr. Hornaday[481] whom you'll see when he attends the course at the Institute[482] in October and November knows how great the need is in contemporary man for a new conception of his theological imagination. I see it myself among educated people here whom I introduce to your work; most of them want to know about you rather than Freud. The problems of contemporary pastoral care and pastoral psychology are on the move. Many reach prematurely for the *I Ching,* which Wilhelm[483] once cast for me, or for the Tao or yoga, without grasping how our connection to these is more intimate than is cheerful and pragmatic America's, a land that has so much "fun" but today—as Lippmann says—lives in "a quiet desperation."

I've seen your English books in the wonderful Pickwick Bookshop,[484] where I'm told that they are enjoying growing recognition. You can't complain, despite the Freudian baiting from Marcuse.[485] People come to you all the more when they sense from you not only scorn or irony or polemic as in *Job* but also understanding wisdom, respect for every mystery of becoming (including its detours), and love for mankind.

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[479] Cf. letter 57, footnote 398 on p. 201.

[480] Cf. letter 63 and I, 3d), p. 77 above.

[481] Cf. letter 62.

[482] C. G. Jung Institute in Zurich.

[483] Richard Wilhelm, see above under I, 2g), p. 50 and footnote 183 and letter 32, footnote 233 on p. 168.

[484] The Pickwick Bookshop, founded in 1938, was one of the most important bookshops in California and a tourist sight on Hollywood Boulevard in Los Angeles.

[485] On the German-American philosopher and writer Ludwig Marcuse's (1894–1971) attack on Jung, cf. II "On the Letters," footnote 29 on p. 97, and letter 17 and footnotes 81 on p. 133 and 82 on p. 133, also 485 on p. 216.

Dr. Hornaday is not entrenched in theology and has also rejected much from his ecclesiastical past. He is vice-president of an institute[486] that clearly leans towards your insights, and that seeks to learn more through contact and comparisons.

In fact P. Mellon[487] is very interested in my friend Albert Schweitzer and is now dedicating a special chapel to Schweitzer in his hospital.

The fact that today's telegram from the Institute[488] accepts Hornaday only as a visitor will have happened, I assume, only to alert pushy types—of which he is not one—to the fact that they can't earn a diploma simply by attending. In the interest of the large community behind him, this shouldn't be seen as a derogatory designation, and so I have therefore repudiated any devaluing, pejorative judgment. Hornaday is certainly no narrow-minded theologian and also not incarcerated in some kind of denomination.

He'll probably try to see you early in November after he starts on the 2nd.

I inquired about the silence following my letter of condolence to the bereaved family only because I hadn't sent a merely conventional[489] expression of sympathy to the family, to you and your children.

I'm doing well in the sunshine, and am sometimes completely satisfied that the puer aeternus[490] has granted me so much spare time to make up for what I'd missed out on. I'll probably stay here in the meantime, since I'm superfluous in Switzerland and am finding enough response and work elsewhere. If it's a matter of attaining a Self or the entelechy,[491] then Niklaus von Flüe's[492] retreat is to be had everywhere, even in a large city.

Wylie[493] has written. I reviewed his book on bombing raids and civil defense.[494]

Perhaps I'll give a lecture about depth psychology and pastoral theology sometime as a belated reply to your Terry Lectures.[495] I found the

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[486] I.e., the "institute" devoted to Jung's work in Los Angeles, cf. letter 63, footnote II, 1114.

[487] Cf. letters 63 and 64.

[488] C. G. Jung Institute in Zurich.

[489] Evidently Keller had written a detailed personal letter.

[490] Cf. letter 44, footnote 312 on p. 185.

[491] Entelechy: a term coined by Aristotle. The realization of potential.

[492] Nicholas of Flüe or brother Klaus (1417–1487), Swiss hermit, ascetic and mystic.

[493] Cf. letter 52.

[494] This refers to Wylie's novel *Tomorrow!*, New York, Rinehart 1954.

[495] On Jung's Terry Lectures of 1937 cf. I, 3d), p. 77 above.

book by our friend Martin about you, Toynbee, and T. S. Eliot.[496] Such comparisons are quite useful for promotional purposes even if they spare no one from reading the original.

Forgive the long letter; I know that you can't commit to any correspondence. But I'm glad you are still there. Jacobi's article in the English edition of the *NZZ*[497] is perhaps more important as far as the public is concerned than a direct repudiation of Marcuse's attacks, which have also appeared here in *Aufbau*.[498] I fear that a mass distribution of the *Job* book will block the paths for some rather than open them. You have seen the Catholic, e. g., White, writing in *Blackfriars,* who is trying, despite the criticism, to open a way where a way is wanted and meaningful—thus category 3 above.[499]

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[496] Percival William Martin, *Experiment in Depth: A Study of the Work of Jung, Eliot and Toynbee,* London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1955.

[497] Jolande Jacobi, "Freud and Jung–Meeting and Parting" (article on Freud's 100th birthday) in *Swiss Review of World Affairs*, a monthly publication of the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, August, 1956, Vol. VI, No. 5, pp. 18–23. Citing the different origins and characters of the two psychiatrists with reference to the Freud-Jung correspondence, not published until 1956, Jacobi writes about their original mutual esteem, then of their split, which in effect was unavoidable since each wished to remain faithful to his own path. Jung's de-sexualisation and broadening of libido had particularly aroused Freud's resistance. The theory of the "collective unconscious" that Jung first formulated in writing in 1917 had already been presented in a talk in 1912. Jacobi concludes: "if Freud's psychoanalysis was the answer to the illness of the past century, Jung's analytical psychology may be described as an answer to the sufferings of the present." And yet "they merely testify to the limits of human capacity and the need for a continuous effort toward the perfecting of the insights and methods of both" (23). Jolande Jacobi (1890–1973), Hungarian psychologist, long-time colleague of Jung.

[498] On *Aufbau,* cf. letter 17, footnotes 81 and 82 on p. 133. On this part of the letter, see Ludwig Marcuse, "Der Fall C. G. Jung," in *Aufbau,* Vol. 21, No. 52, p. 30 December 1955, pp. 13–15. This sensational article attacks Jung for his role in the (international) *Allgemeinen Ärztlichen Gesellschaft für Psychotherapie* in 1934. In a subtitle in bold type he speaks of Jung's "Course towards the Jews." On this cf. Ludwig Marcuse, *Mein Zwanzigstes Jahrhundert. Auf dem Weg zu einer Autobiographie*, Hamburg, Fischer Bücherei 1968, 141ff., where Marcuse mentions in an equally critical vein Jung's presidency of the "Society" and refers to Bally's article in the *NZZ* in footnote 5, on page 143. See above I, 3c), p. 74.

[499] White harbored concerns similar to Keller's with respect to Jung's desired publication of *Answer to Job* in the United States. White wrote to Jung from California: "I am frankly relieved that *Answer to Job* has not yet appeared in United States. It would queer my pitch rather badly among these mostly very naïve, but very well meaning, Catholics. Already of course I am getting perplexed and indignant letters from England asking 'What the hell. . . .' It cost quite some sleepless nights, trying to write an article to explain what I think—or, more exactly, to try and sort out what I *did* think! I hope you will find the result (which I will send you if and when it is published) not too distressing; and especially that you will take into consideration for whom it is written." White to Jung, 8 January 1955, in *The Jung-White Letters*, p. 254. Cf. letter 59. Keller then tried to find an American publisher, with Hornaday's help. Cf. letters 71ff.

What is the name of your astrologer daughter?[500] I'm surprised by some aspects of this sort of thing. Here I am sitting at the far end of the country in a center of the world. You know the parting words of old Isaac about his tribes[501] before his death. I wouldn't be surprised if one day the spirit doesn't move you to leave behind some such wisdom for your tribes, including me.

Can the location of the Jospehus quote τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ [*to pneuma tou theou*] etc. ζῴων [*zōōn*][502] be identified [or verified]?

With warm wishes
Your K. [Keller]

—

66 Jung[503]

[Küsnacht, no day] September 1956

Dear friend,

I am pleased you are well and keeping as busy as ever. I wish you all requisite luck in your endeavors, especially the lectures on depth psychology.

I completely agree that for the unprepared, *Job* is a hard nut to crack. Whoever finds in the problem of *Job*—which William James[504] has also met head-on—too much scorn, irony, and other debris had better leave the book alone. By the way, the book club of the Pastoral Guild of Psychology[505] has ordered 2500 copies in one go for its members. It seems as

[500] Gret Baumann-Jung (1906–1995), Jung's second daughter, who was an astrologer.

[501] Cf. Genesis 27 where the elderly Isaac blesses Jacob and Esau, and Genesis 48 and 49 where Jacob bestows a whole series of blessings on his descendents before his death.

[502] Τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ [*to pneuma tou theou*] etc. ζῴων [*zōōn*] (Greek) = the spirit of God etc. of the animals. According to the now definitive Josephus concordance, there is no such location. Cf. Karl Heinrich Rengsdorf et al., eds., *The Complete Concordance to Flavius Josephus.* Leiden: Brill, 2002, Vol. 2, pp. 434f.

[503] L T 23 379. This letter to Keller in Los Angeles is included in *C. G. Jung Letters* III, p. and *C. G. Jung: Letters*, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 330.

[504] On William James, see I, 1a) p. 7. Cf. William James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (1902), new ed. Rockville MD: Arc Manor, 2008, p. 62. "In the Book of Job . . . the impotence of man and the omnipotence of God is the exclusive burden of the author's mind."

[505] Correct: The Guild of Pastoral Psychology, founded in London in 1937, which to this day designates Jung as its "Founder Patron." The edition in view is C. G. Jung: *Answer to Job*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1954.

if quite a few American theologians[506] are of a mind to plague themselves with the ideas contained in my *Answer to Job* just for the hell of it.

Nothing is served by simply skirting around unpleasant issues.

With best wishes
[Carl]

—

67 Keller[507]

Los Angeles, [early September 1956]

Dear Miss Jaffé,

You are already aware that my correspondence has got into a muddle because I do not have a secretary at my side to organize it. I therefore do not know whether some papers here are *originals* or *copies*. I am concerned that [Professor] Jung receive the enclosed letter, so I am enquiring of you again whether he has already received the enclosed letter with the synthesis that my secretary[508] attempted. If he has already received this letter detailing the essentials of Dr. *Hornaday's* forthcoming visit, please send the document back to my secretary: Miss E. *Perini, Morgartenstrasse 41*, *Zurich*. If she has not yet received it, I would ask you to give him[509] this sheet, and when Dr Hornaday telephones after 22 October, to take care of the arrangements for a meeting. He is staying at the *Hotel Baur au Lac Zurich* but is often away over the weekends.

With kind wishes, your
Dr Adolph Keller

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[506] In the United States *Answer to Job* first came out in 1969 in Cleveland/New York, The World Publishing Co.

[507] L T 22 692. Difficult to decipher; likely terms in square brackets. Keller's emphases.

[508] Elisa Perini in Zurich.

[509] Jung.

68 Keller[510]

[Los Angeles], 11 September 1956

Dear friend,

Thanks for your letter of September. In the process I have discovered that evidently you have *not* received earlier letters from me, in which I alerted you to the fact that in America interest in your psychology has markedly increased, even *among theologians,* and that I'm often asked about a bridge between theology, i.e., pastoral care, and Jungian complex psychology. Since I can only look back through my archive here with difficulty, and it is possible that the *copies of my letters* here are in fact the *originals* that were *not* sent, I've asked your secretary to clarify this point. I didn't want to bother you with it yourself.[511] This, also in explanation of why my secretary in Zurich sent you both originals and copies. I don't want to lose any more time on this, and so to maintain continuity I'm only summarizing what preceded, both in my reply following and [in the] postscript.[512]

1. The debate between you and *Christianity* is *not only* an individual but a *collective matter*, in which individuals are instrumental. Here one should distinguish between the μὴ δαρὲις [mē dareis] and the οὐ δαρὲις ἄνθρωπος [*ou dareis anthrōpos*],[513] which is what makes the difference in its παίδευσις [*education*].[514]
2. This debate is taking shape slowly, but it is *coming along*, though not everything happening in theology, philosophy, and, for

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[510] L T 22 690 airmail, difficult to decipher, likely terms in square brackets. Keller's emphases.

[511] Cf. preceding letter 67.

[512] See the appendix to the letter, (also dated 11 September).

[513] Ὁ μὴ δαρὲις ἄνθρωπος οὐ παιδεύεται [*ho mē dareïs anthrōpos ou paideuetai*] (Greek) = The man who is not chastened is not properly educated. This is a verse by the Greek dramatist Menander. It became well-known after Goethe prefaced his memoirs *Dichtung und Wahrheit* with this motto. Keller differentiates between μὴ δαρὲις [*mē dareis*] and οὐ δαρὲις [*ou dareis*]. In the first instance it reads: "inasmuch that man is chastened, he is educated." In the second, "unchastened, man remains uneducated." In the *Mysterium Coniunctionis* (1956), published in this same year, Jung describes such impacts in para. 778: "You have become the victim of a decision made over your head or in defiance of your heart. From this we can see the numinous power of the self, which can hardly be experienced in any other way. For this reason *the experience of the self is always a defeat for the ego*. . . . The prototype of this situation is Job's encounter with Jahweh. . . . The mystical experiences of the saints are no different from other effects of the unconscious."

[514] Παίδευσις [*paideusis*] (Greek) = education.

example, within the ecumenical movement, is known to you. Are you aware, for example, of private comments by Barth, Brunner, and Professor Köberle?[515] They were also δαρεὶς [*dareis*], but are now becoming παιδεύονται [they are being educated][516] as [?].

3. The fact that compensatory psychology has also penetrated the problem of education is evident in the letter of introduction that Dr Hornaday will bring to you from the Chief of the Board of Education.[517] They have realized that as far as "juvenile delinquency" is concerned, something's not working in the prevailing, pragmatic pedagogy in which John Dewey[518] raised an entire generation of teachers.
4. Just one more thing: the *kairos*[519] for such a debate is determined mostly from *inside* and not by edict. And something that happens *silently* is by no means non-existent.
5. You will not count me among those who are too stupid or ossified to crack your "nuts" themselves. And as for me, you yourself and then Miss Moltzer[520] have more than provided[521] the premonitory "*chastening*,"[522] along with other personal *experiences*.[523] Incidentally, Tina also considered herself a "*Jungian*" once she had worked through some resentment towards you, even if she did not wish to get into all the secrets of Gnostic theology etc.
6. I asked you for the address of the Guild of Pastoral Psychology which the late *Roberts*[524] had already told me a lot about. This is evidently a very recent grouping; previously the issue also came up

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[515] Adolf Köberle (1898–1990), professor of systematic theology in Basel and in Tubingen. Starting from the love of Christ and gratitude, he explored broad areas of cultural life, including psychology, as in *Die Seele des Christentums. Beiträge zum Verständnis des Christusglaubens und der Christusnachfolge in der Gegenwart*, (*The Soul of Christianity*). Berlin: Furche, 1932.

[516] παιδεύονται [*paideuontai*] (Greek) = they are being (plural) educated, i.e., they are on the point of becoming interested in psychology.

[517] Presumably the Board of Education in California that gave Hornaday a letter of introduction. On Hornaday, cf. letter 63 incl. footnote 453 on p. 211 and letters 69ff.

[518] John Dewey (1859–1952), see I, 1a), p. 7, footnote 26 above.

[519] *Kairos* (Greek) = the right, fitting moment in time; the moment of decision.

[520] Cf. I, 2c) p. 32 and footnote 76 on p. 32 above.

[521] Keller is hinting at debates in the Association of Analytical Psychology and in the Club.

[522] "Chastening" corresponds to what is referred to in the Greek as δαρεὶς [*dareis*] (cf. above on this letter).

[523] Allusion to Tina Keller's painful depth analysis with Jung.

[524] Identity cannot be traced.

in *loose, individual groupings* on the continent to which I too belonged.[525]

7. Your sentence about *skirting around unpleasant issues*[526] is correct as a *general truth*; I learned this as far back as 1911, after Weimar, when I joined your movement as the *only* theologian then, and was often "chastened"[527] by you in derision, friendship, and kindness. I ought to add, though, that this entire question is not simply about a *skirting around* on the part of contemporary theologians, but also about the select *pedagogy* on which an ordained minister can take a position in a more leisurely way than the *son of a minister* who is rebelling.[528]
8. From carrying out a few analyses foisted on me here,[529] I can once again confirm how much *complex psychology* of the collective unconscious, the *theory of compensation*, and the *archetypal* background are objective creations. Hornaday will tell you about this. I've had no time for this for years, and only now have become freer, being regarded with fewer prejudices or disrespect than in the Club. This explains much about my *silence*—which is not the same as withholding debate. America offers striking examples of just how much is proving itself to be true, and so I'm meeting up again with something here that I experienced back in 1912 around your *Symbols of Transformation*[530] etc., a book that, after all, received its impetus from America.[531]

By the way, the fact that you have pedagogical *considerations* in mind is revealed in a comparison between your *German Job* and the *English* translation.[532] Of course I'll follow with interest what the reaction will

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[525] The Guild of Pastoral Psychology (cf. letter 66) was a British foundation. Presumably such groups first came into being in continental Europe after the war.

[526] See letter 66, final sentence. This refers to Jung's *Answer to Job*. In Keller's opinion, Jung is being elusive.

[527] Another allusion to Menander's verse, see footnote 513 on p. 221.

[528] I.e., Keller suggests that Jung's *Job* is in part a late sequela of the conflicts with his father.

[529] This confirms that Keller was active once again as an analyst in California.

[530] Jung, *Symbols of Transformation*. See I, 2a) and I, 2c). p. 34 above.

[531] In 1909 Freud and Jung had taken a trip to America together, to Clark University in Worcester. Frank Miller, who figures in *Symbols of Transformation,* was American.

[532] Evidently, Jung had toned down some sections of *Answer to Job* for the planned American edition. At that time a publisher in the United States had not yet been found. See footnote 506 on p. 220.

be if *Job* is pitch-forked not only into theology but also the whole *conservative religiosity in America*. Perhaps a daimonic *archetype* is already awaiting its name.

9. As you have agreed to see Dr. Hornaday, I suggest that your secretary send him a note at the appropriate time to Hotel Baur au Lac Zurich, regarding when you want to see him. Forgive the confusion about the copies and the treacherous capriciousness of the unfamiliar typewriter that imposes its own orthography on me. You see, there simply are opportunities for introversion. We[533] recently invited Dr *Kirsch*[534] for lunch. Prince *Bernhard*[535] recently invited me to his hotel. Since he spoke not about [his] own concerns but of others, saying nothing was the right and proper thing to do. In any case it's all being discussed loudly enough in *Holland* and the wider world.[536] I am glad you are doing quite well. Next year it will be *50 years* since I first began this relationship with you. Today we are no longer far away from the truth proclaimed by Psalm 90.[537]

With best wishes
Your Adolph[538] *Keller*

[533] We: evidently Tina Keller had now joined her husband in California.

[534] On Dr. Kirsch, see letter 44.

[535] Bernhard, Prince consort of the Dutch Queen Juliana. Evidently he first approached Hornaday who saw him, but then referred him to Keller. Cf. Hornaday's letter to Jung of 24 January 1957. (C. G. Jung archive, ETH Hs 1056: 24 038).

[536] Prince Bernhard, of German in origin, had extra-marital affairs, was embroiled in a bribery scandal, and was alleged to have been a member of the NSDAP (Nazi party) as a young man. This was much discussed in the public domain at the time, mostly in the Netherlands.

[537] Cf. Psalm 90:10 in the ESV: "The years of our life are seventy, or even by reason of strength eighty; yet their span is but toil and trouble; they are soon gone, and we fly away" (ESV). This confirms that Jung and Keller met in 1907.

[538] From America, Keller occasionally used the English version of his name.

["Postscript" to Keller's letter dated 11 September 1956, cf. letter 68 above, paragraph 1.][539]

Dear friend,

Dr. Hornaday has now learned that he will be admitted to the Jung Institute as a visitor. At the same time he received the *regulations* dated March 1955.[540] It's not entirely clear to him what is required. I'm sure you no longer have anything to do with the technicalities of admission requirements. I have written directly to the Institute but would also like to inform you of a few pertinent things:

First the following: despite the fresh attacks from the Freudian side, the response to *Jung's* depth psychology has deepened and broadened in the USA, because even among doctors and ministers[541] neurotic distress has intensified and become more tangible and because contemporary psychology demands an authoritative new orientation.

It is worth taking advantage of this *kairos* and riding this imminent wave. To this end, educational vehicles such as the Jung Club exist here, but they can hardly exert very much influence. However, there are also other, broader channels, in the sense of a cultural selectivity,[542] into which these new ideas are flowing.

Among these, I count certain psychological circles such as the Menninger Institute[543] in Topeka, which I have visited, or even the rather outdated group inspired by Adolf *Meyer.*[544] Then there is [. . .] the Fareed-Holmes Foundation[545] here. Do you remember Dr. Fareed, who visited you? Apart from that, there are particular *psychotherapeutic* groups in

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[539] L T, also filed under letter Hs: 68 22 690 (as page 4); however, it was written before 11 September, as Keller added a handwritten note to the "postscript" for his secretary's attention (Elisa Perini in Zurich): "Has Jung received this?" Keller's emphases.

[540] This evidently refers to the entry requirements for the Institute.

[541] I.e., among their patients or pastoral cases.

[542] selective: meaning that one culture selects or takes up certain elements from another culture.

[543] Menninger Foundation, Topeka, Kansas. This was a family foundation begun in 1919, by Karl, Will, and Charles Menninger, all three of whom were doctors. The Foundation comprises a clinic, a sanatorium, and a training institute for psychiatry. The founders' sons were also well-known psychiatrists. In 2003 the clinic moved to Houston.

[544] Adolf Meyer (1866–1950), Swiss-American psychiatrist. He worked at the Burghölzli psychiatric clinic in Zurich before he became professor of psychiatry at Cornell University from 1904 until 1909, and from 1910 until 1941 at John Hopkins University in Baltimore. Jung met Meyer in 1909 during his first trip to the United States, at Clark University in Worcester, and they corresponded for a few years.

[545] Fareed-Holmes Foundation, cf. letter 63, footnote 452 on p. 211.

individual universities which take the good wherever they find it, also many groups of clergy who not only muddle along with pastoral formulae but also seek guidance within the framework of the ecumenical movement and from your *Terry* lectures,[546] in the spirit of a collaboration between doctors and clergy. When I was speaking on the radio[547] yesterday, broadcasting to a large audience throughout the English-speaking world via relay with the *National Broadcasting* [Company] and the Armed Forces[548] (estimated to be 50–70 million listeners), suddenly right in the middle of the radio conversation my interviewer asked me: "Dr. K[eller]: *Tell us something about the beginnings of depth psychology, about Jung and Freud*." This was unanticipated and deviated from the theme, but nevertheless I addressed it briefly and took note of the growing interest, something that is also being promoted by the publications of the Bollingen press.[549] But the incredibly broad reach of complex psychology should remain contained in concentric circles laid on top of or alongside each other: the professional training and development aspired to in the course regulations,[550] the wider, general pedagogical circles in which the application to broader areas is explored as it is in our parallel groups in Zurich, and that specialized circle in which doctors and theologians collaborate in trying to pursue the real debate between psychology and theology. If all this could be contained. . . .[551]

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69 Keller[552]

[Los Angeles] 20 September 1956

Dear friend,

I did not want to burden you with deciphering my dense, imperfect handwriting so have had my secretary organize a transcript that is easier to

[546] See I, 3d) p. 18.

[547] This was an interview about questions related to Christianity. It probably took place on a Californian radio station. Keller had already taken part in a TV series in 1954; see the article about Keller in *Man and Religion. A Telecourse Presented by Northeastern University and the National Broadcasting Company*, 1954, p. 25.

[548] American Army radio.

[549] Cf. letter 63, footnote 452 on p. 211.

[550] Regulations of the C. G. Jung Institute in Zurich.

[551] Here the postscript to the letter of 11. September breaks off. Keller's emphases.

[552] LT 22 691 (airmail, original difficult to decipher, the transcription mentioned in the letter is not available).

read than what I wrote "out of a suitcase," as it were. I invited Dr *Kirsch*[553] to lunch today with Dr. *Hornaday*[554] so that he[555] could learn more about the course regulations[556] which, along with their illustrative aspect, also have an apotropaic[557] one.

He will [probably call you] at the end of October or early November, as you wrote. I wrote up a dream of his so that you can see immediately where he stands. It reminds me of my initiatory dream that you once analyzed and published (of how I was bitten by the snake and this had a healing effect).[558] I don't know whether you received everything I wrote in two letters but I did not want to overwhelm you with correspondence. I only repeated once again that Hornaday is able to open a broader door to the world since he is situated outside of the ecumenical circle that operates exclusively although it intends to be inclusive.[559] He brings a reference from the highest places, even from the Chief of education,[560] directed to *you* personally, showing that this is not just a matter of someone having a quick look around and taking a nose-full away with him. I, too, seem to have this reputation among you, and so I hardly say anything anymore because no one likes to be booed at.[561] Yet I must make my decisions *where I* choose and fight *where I* see the battle lines fall, and must do that on my own terms, glad for every weapon in my kit.

I write today because Kirsch spoke to me about your work on *Psychology and Politics*.[562] Here I take note of the debate I've already addressed in the *Institute of World Affairs* over here,[563] linked to the university where I spoke about depth psychology's significance for politics without

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[553] Cf. letter 44.

[554] Cf. letter 63.

[555] Hornaday who planned to travel to the Institute in Zurich.

[556] Regulations of the C. G. Jung Institute in Zurich.

[557] Apotropaic (Greek) = averting evil.

[558] Cf. letters 24, 28 and 44. It is not possible to verify Keller's "initiatory dream" and Jung's interpretation.

[559] Keller was increasingly critical of the Ecumenical Council of Churches, which at that time was dominated by Visser't Hooft (1900–1985), an "orthodox" Barthian, more Barthian than Barth himself.

[560] Cf. letter 68.

[561] Due to his diverse interests and activities, Keller was sometimes described as superficial both by Jungians and Barthians alike.

[562] This text cannot be identified. One might consider the essay "Gegenwart und Zukunft," ("Present and Future") although that was not published until 1957 as a special supplement to the *Schweizer Monatshefte* XXXVI:12 (March 1957). (Communicated by Ulrich Hoerni, 3. January 2013 and Sonu Shamdasani, 17. December 2013).

[563] The Institute of World Affairs, Los Angeles University of International Relations, University of Southern California.

being able to go into it in depth. Therefore it would interest me to see pointers from your text soon and be able to quote from it. In 1912 you gave me the proofs of your *Symbols* to take on my honeymoon,[564] and if I could have something like that from you again I would pass it along.

Above all I want to say that I do *not* wish to be identified with Tina[565] and hold firmly to my *own* position, determined by the view of the whole, the persona *and* the shadow *and* the conjunctio.[566]

I'm staying here for now not only because this climate is good for me, with its sunshine and the ocean, but also because I've had enough of Swiss and European conformism and officialdom,[567] and then again the world is wider than we imagine—which is perceived here very strongly, both positively and negatively.

It's a shame for Hornaday that the available time is so short;[568] like all of us, he too has other things to do.

I'm glad that you are well and that in our own way, even on the wrong side of *80*, we old men may remain or even *become* young by staying ever open to the new conjunctios[569] that are constantly being consummated.

With best wishes
Your Adolf Keller.

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70 Jung[570]

[Küsnacht], 16 October 1956

Dear friend,

Many thanks for your multiple letters, all of which arrived safely in my hands. Mr. Hornaday[571] has his appointment. In relation to this gentleman,

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[564] See I, 2a), p. 18 above.

[565] Tina Keller often criticized Jung. See I, 2i), p. 54 above and II "On the Letters," p. 82 and letter 45.

[566] See C. G. Jung (in collaboration with Marie-Louise von Franz), *Mysterium Coniunctionis*, *An Inquiry into the Separation and Synthesis of Psychic Opposites in Alchemy* (Princeton: Pantheon/Bollingen), 1970.

[567] Keller experienced the Switzerland of the 1950s as conservative and narrow-minded.

[568] I.e., at the Institute in Zurich.

[569] Presumably a reference to the last section of Jung's *Mysterium Coniunctionis* entitled "The Conjunction."

[570] L T 23 380. To Keller in Los Angeles.

[571] Cf. letter 63.

I've wondered why he or his friends keep sending so many letters of recommendation in advance of his arrival. They are not doing this good man any service, but merely arousing mistrust. "Good wine needs no bush"[572] and you can spare thinking of me as a bad judge of character. I'm already feeling a certain pity for the good Mr. Hornaday.

With best wishes
Your [Carl]

—

71 Keller[573]

Los Angeles, 19 October 1956

Dear friend,

I am replying immediately to your letter of 16 October, showing just how good the mail connection is.

I have told Dr Hornaday[574] nothing of your anticipated pity so as not to disturb his naturalness when he surrenders to your "judgment of character" instead of being lauded with accolades in advance by "friends." Of course, I don't know what has been written about him. But one might see the matter from a viewpoint other than pity. Sometimes such messages are "Uriah letters."[575] But in this case the authoritative ones certainly reveal nothing but the *great interest* that there is in you. I saw that for myself yesterday at an *Education Commission* in the presence of senior education people. I was speaking there about what we might hope for, in education, from depth psychology. That the head of another Californian *Board of Education* commends[576] "this gentleman" not only in his own right, but on behalf of *education,* certainly gives cause for something other than pity.

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[572] Proverb suggesting something of good quality does not need to be advertised. It was customary to hang out ivy, boughs of trees, flowers, etc., at public houses to notify to travelers that "good cheer" might be had within. Cf. *Poor Robins perambulation from Saffron-Walden to London performed this month of July, 1678*. Poor Robin., William Winstanley, 1628?–1698.

[573] L T (PS: H) 22 693. Keller's emphases.

[574] Cf. letter 63, footnote 453 on p. 211 and letter 70.

[575] Cf. 2. Samuel 11: King David sends his officer Uriah back into battle with a letter, which states: "Set Uriah in the forefront of the hardest fighting, and then draw back from him, that he may be struck down, and die."

[576] Cf. letter 68.

As far as church and theology are concerned, what is important with Hornaday is that this *approach* comes from a *Christian community* which is *not* constrained from the outset like the *Ecumenical movement*,[577] and that perhaps some understanding might emerge here that is not easy to find elsewhere in these [ecumenical] circles. It might also be important for Dr *Kirsch*'s[578] activities as he [Hornaday] may *be able to be very helpful* to him in his difficulties with the law. I hope that your judgment of character, even when it comes up against the *shadow* cast by *everyone*, will perhaps balance out whatever "trop de zèle"[579] from other correspondents has caused.

I beg your pardon if you have received so much correspondence from me due to my nomadic existence.[580] You do not supply me with an address for the Pastoral Guild that ordered your *Answer to Job*,[581] so I must secure it for myself here or in New York in order to further pursue what "*Jung's impact on America*" might initiate here.

I don't need to tell you what else is going on in such "over the hill"[582] eighty-somethings, such as we are. In a birthday letter to a centenarian I described myself as a hopeful *adolescent*.[583]

I hope therefore that even if you perhaps no longer see me, you will not think of me with a "certain pity."

Your Adolph Keller

PS. It's an American custom to send letters of recommendation in advance when they don't require direct presentation. In any case it was not implausible that the Freudians might also have piped up, since his [Hornaday's] large auditorium of 3000 people every Sunday knows about this trip and you are already wearing an almond-shaped halo[584] *around your head as far as this group is concerned. But government representatives and the* Board of Education *are not actually enthusiasts but rather reasonable*

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[577] The ecumenical movement was founded on the statement of faith: "Jesus Christ as God and Savior." "God" as an attribute of Christ was rejected by liberal-minded Christians such as Hornaday. Cf. also letter 68.

[578] Kirsch had issues with the medical authorities, cf. letter 44.

[579] Trop de zèle (French.) = over-enthusiasm.

[580] This sentence has been altered by the editor for the sake of clarity.

[581] Cf. letter 66.

[582] Overdue, nautical expression: the ship should have arrived long since.

[583] Adolescens (Latin) = adolescent.

[584] Mandorla = almond shaped halo.

people. Must one appeal to a male informato ad melius informandum?[585]

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72 Jung[586]

[Küsnacht], [no day] December 1956

Dear friend,

So in the meantime the comet Hornaday[587] has risen on our horizon and, after a brief guest appearance, has departed from us once again just as meteorically. The encounter was very interesting. It was a particular pleasure to get the chance to examine a specimen[588] of American super-extraversion under the magnifying glass. The extent of his foregroundedness was exceptionally impressive as well as the intensity of his backgroundedness. From his descriptions I have also gleaned some clarifying information about your current attitude and activities.

I can only congratulate you on the result of your psychological efforts with Hornaday. Hornaday has every appearance of being the man who could instigate a far-reaching impact. It was almost possible to warm oneself in the glow of this possibility. I can't avoid thinking of the words of the poet, however: "Between the lips and the rim of the chalice hovers the hand of the dark powers."[589]

We had four animated social chats with one another and a fifth hour was devoted to a piece of analytic work. This, only for your private information, since there were all sorts of rumors that Hornaday had intended prolonged studies at the Institute.[590]

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[585] See letter 30, footnote 181 on p. 158: from the badly informed [pope] to the one to be better informed.

[586] LT 23 381. To Keller in Los Angeles.

[587] Cf. re letter 63. For once the typically cutting Basel humor can be seen in Jung's comments about Hornaday!

[588] Specimen (Latin) = specimen, example.

[589] From Johann Friedrich Kind (1768–1843, poet of the "marksman" *Poems*. Leipzig: Hartknoch, 1808, p. 7.

[590] Jung's ironic tone towards Hornaday is deceptive, for he wrote to him following the meeting in Zurich: "I am highly interested in what you tell me about Washington and what the Board of Education is planning. According to my idea the actual psychological education in American Universities is too much based upon tests. . . . Man is a very complicated study indeed and our psychology should be in the first place a knowledge and understanding of man as he *is*. . . . What we try to do in our Analytical Psychology is to construct a

By the way, he gave me the book by his master Holmes[591] and I have immersed myself in it somewhat until my eyes began to water from the sheer aromatics of roses and hope-flushed sunrises and I had to turn away from this most comforting of all gospels with such a tearful glance. This sort of psychology can be compensated only by a Russian shadow.[592] Otherwise, Hornaday for sure will paint a colorful picture of his European experiences, although I must remark that he was never in fact really here. For during this entire time he had not really surmounted the lag behind his airplane from America. It is well known that souls travel much more slowly than bodies.

Therewith do I conclude my report about the *res gestae*[593] and wish you much luck in the relationships with your American environment.

I'd like to take this opportunity to ask you for some good advice: Frau Dr. Kluger-Schärf[594] talked over with me her intention to publish her *Satan*[595] in America. I have advised her that were she to do so she should outline in a longer introduction the intellectual context in which her essay originally appeared, namely the "symbolism of the spirit."[596] She would discard the philological ballast and thus significantly abridge the work. A smaller book would emerge that could serve as a good introduction to

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picture of the wholeness of an individual by helping him to realize himself. Thus all cognition of man winds up as self-cognition." Jung to Hornaday, 9 January 1957 (C. G. Jung archive, ETH Hs 1056: 24 731). Hornaday replied: "Thank you for your most informative and well-timed letter regarding your attitude concerning the psychological testing program in our schools. . . . Such considerations will be most fruitful." Hornaday to Jung, 24 January 1957 (ibid, Hs 1056: 24 038). And a few weeks later: "I do feel a sense of well-being never known before and for this I shall ever be grateful to you." Hornaday to Jung, 15. March 1957 (ibid, Hs 1056: 24 039).

[591] Cf. re lett letter er 63. This most likely refers to Holmes's publication *The Creative Mind* (New York: R. M. McBride & Co., 1919), or *The Science of Mind* (New York: R. M. McBride & Co., 1926).

[592] This alludes to Fjodor Michailowitsch Dostojevsky (1821–1881) et al., with his somber view of humanity.

[593] Res gestae (Latin) = [heroic] deeds.

[594] Riwkah Kluger-Schärf (1907–1987), or Rivkah Schaerf (confusion reigns about the correct spelling of her forename, her maiden name, and her surname), student of C. G. Jung, analyst, and author. Her shorthand notes of Jung's lectures from 1934 to 1949 are preserved in the C. G. Jung archive at the ETH Zurich. She later lived in Los Angeles.

[595] Frau Schärf first published her dissertation on the form of Satan in the Old Testament as part of C. G. Jung's *Symbolism of the Spirit. Studies in psychic phenomena* . . . with a contribution from Riwkah Schärf. Zurich: Rascher, 1948.

[596] Cf. previous footnote. The publication of Schärf's English version of *Satan* was achieved many years later. Rivkah [*sic*] Schärf Kluger, *Satan in the Old Testament* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1967). Two other books on biblical themes, and a study of the Gilgamesh epic, have also appeared in English.

my essay about *Job*. Perhaps you could advise me regarding a publisher whom I could suggest to Frau Dr. Kluger, or perhaps Hornaday might know someone suitable. The Bollingen Foundation[597] has turned down *Satan*, as well as my *Job* out of fear of the public reaction.

With best wishes
Your [Carl]

—

73 Keller[598]

Los Angeles, 30 December 1956

Dear friend,

My best wishes for the New Year! I read your encouraging letter with pleasure and thank you for the kind welcome you extended to Dr. *Hornaday*[599] despite your initial fears. I thought such an exemplar of naïve *extraversion* would be bound to be valuable for you and would show what sort of *energy* development such an extravert is capable of. Albeit with *health warnings*! I understand why you had to recover with *tears* from *Holmes*' book.[600] I *cannot read* it, for immediately Niebuhr's "irony of history" makes an appearance.[601] Hornaday's first *sermon after* his return was very impressive, in front of 3000 people, and for me was an example of "*transatlantic dialogue*."

Now my *advice* regarding the *book* by [Kluger]-Schärf and the publication of *Job* and of *Satan*: from my knowledge of American *psychology* I had already advised Conrad *Falke*[602] against publishing his love story about *Jesus* in *America*. This *obstacle remains*. It would be a shame if this factor compelled Frau *Kluger*[603] to sink to the level of *scandal-sheet literature* that flourishes here. I'll consult with *Hornaday,*[604] perhaps also

[597] Bollingen Foundation: cf. letter 63 and footnote 461 on p. 213.

[598] L H 22 694. Keller's emphases,

[599] Cf. letter 63.

[600] Cf. letter 72.

[601] The German ancient historian Barthold Georg Niebuhr (1776–1831) used to write of the "irony of history." I.e., it evolves differently from how those involved imagined.

[602] Konrad Falke (in fact Karl Frey, 1880–1942), *Jesus von Nazareth* [posthumous biblical novel] (Zurich: Fretz & Wasmuth 1950).

[603] Cf. letter 72.

[604] Hornaday wrote to Jung, on 24 January 1957 (C. G. Jung archive, ETH Hs 1056: 22 652): "Before Dr. Keller left [for Africa], he spoke to me about the question of having your excellent book *Answer to Job* published here in America. I feel this is very possible and

with *Philip Wylie*.[605] Writing from England of course gains immediate entry. But serious publishers who also *look out for* the growing *church readership* here will *refuse* on principle to *antagonize* people if that means going beyond the Mephisto-like reach of their daunting profession. I'll write you in more detail and when I've been able to speak with Hornaday.

I have been invited to fly on *15 January* 1957 to *central Africa* to my old friend Dr. *Albert Schweitzer*.[606] Wider medical circles, the cultural periodical *Wisdom*, and even the *White House* are interested in his mission and *witness*. I have *accepted* since it's not a question of a *show* or a *stunt*,[607] nor another *extraversion*. One doesn't know whether death is an ultimate introversion or extraversion. Two doctors are coming with me, also *Fareed*. My medical exam ended with a comparison of my biological age with the chronological standard, with the words: gorgeous. *But that* is no guarantee. Maybe the *puer aeternus*[608] influenced things!

A question that is repeatedly asked here: Where does *Jung* show how the *dynamic* of the libido comes into being, *aside from* intellectual *cognition*. If you reply soon [your] letter will reach me *before* my departure for Africa.

Warmest
Your Adolph Keller

[PS] If this [is] difficult to read send it to my secretary for a transcript. Secretary's address: E. Perini, 41 Morgaretnstrasse, Zurich 4.

—

should be done. My relationship with Dodd, Mead and Company is exceptionally good, and as you know, it is one of our oldest and most respected publishing concerns."

[605] Cf. letter 52, footnote 347 on p. 192 above.

[606] Keller had already met Schweitzer shortly after 1900. Both were passionate pianists and organists who loved Bach's music, see I, 1a), p. 6 above. They remained in contact via letter and met for Schweitzer's organ concerts in Switzerland in aid of Lambarene. Schweitzer performed for at least two house concerts organized by Keller in his private apartment for the purpose of fundraising. With this invitation to Africa a long-held wish of Keller's was fulfilled. Hornaday helped him sort out papers and organize inoculations, and wrote to Jung: "He was extremely happy over the opportunity, and I know our mutual blessing goes with him." Hornaday to Jung, 24 Jan, 1957 (C. G. Jung archive, ETH Hs 1056: 22 652). On Hornaday, see letter 63, footnote 453 on p. 211.

[607] Stunt, trick.

[608] Cf. letter 63. On Dr. Fareed, see footnote 452 on p. 211 above.

74 Keller[609]

12 January 1957

Dear friend,

I hope that you can read this[610] better than my typescript. Let me first tell you how happy I was looking into your face when Dr. Hornaday[611] showed me your photos, the best I have ever seen. You are humane, intimate, fatherly and animated, the Self,[612] with still a remnant of medical, satirical,[613] and cynical superiority. I'm very pleased.

Now to our counsels about publication.[614] Both of us can understand the publishers who decline such books, simply for fear of the public reaction. But this doesn't mean, as you seem to believe, that we, or that I myself ought to be bothered or alarmed. I had in mind only the effect on the public—nothing more. We both [615] fear simply that misunderstandings and misinterpretations, not truths, will hinder the effect of such insights. We had the Dead-Bros. press in mind.[616] Hornaday is writing you directly about it. I am glad that you *were able* to devote so much time and contact to Hornaday. It's extraordinary how much this extraverted pragmatist was able to get from his "meteoric trip." I thank him for coming to my defense with you against certain misinterpretations; in the Club they continue as stubbornly as ever. Equally, it seemed to me that so much travel could make one extraverted. After all, I was alone on Mount Sinai[617] for an entire night—it was longer than any other night. Now I'm on the brink of another departure. On 15 January I will fly on a special mission from here to New York, then to Paris with a brief detour to Zurich, then to Lambarene to Albert Schweitzer in whom there is huge interest here, even in the *White House*. I'll stay there for 14 days, DV,[618] with an American

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[609] L H 24 080. Keller's emphases.

[610] I.e., this handwritten letter. Elisa Perini, Keller's secretary, prepared a copy in any case.

[611] Cf. letter 63.

[612] The "Self" in the Jungian sense.

[613] Satira = satire, thus satirically or ironically.

[614] See letters 72 and 73.

[615] Hornaday and Keller.

[616] Frau Perini made an error. It should be the respected publisher Dodd, Mead, and Company in New York, who published Hornaday et al. The plan failed, cf. footnotes 506 on p. 220 and 602 on p. 233 above.

[617] Mount Sinai, where he once spent an entire night alone. See I, 1a) and II, "On the Letters" above, p. 102.

[618] DV = Deo volente (Latin)—God willing.

doctor, Dr Fareed, who has also been to the Institute[619] and will return at the end of February via Paris, Zurich, New York, and California.

I believe I have completed my work in Switzerland. Something new is developing here.[620] Does this also have to do with the *puer aeternus*,[621] as in my youth? Yet one can't pester you with more questions. But do you know where in your writings you consider how insufficient libido in indifferent patients can be awakened if the symbolism does not do so spontaneously?[622] If I come to Zurich again on my return trip from Lambarene I would be glad to see you, it would be a farewell after we have traveled such a good long distance together.

I can always be reached through my secretary Miss Elisa Perini, 41 Morgartenstrasse, Zurich 4. Your picture looked as if you were on the brink of new epiphanies. "At evening time it will be light."[623] While you always retreat to your tower, I always walk along the seashore and recently I saw a 90-year-old who was doing nothing, staring out at the sea after driving 2000 miles from Arkansas in his old car to see the ocean! *The* ocean. Then one no longer asks about finitum capax infiniti.[624] It is, yet remains infinitum et invisibile.[625]

Warmest
Your Adolph Keller

—

75 Jung[626]

[Küsnacht], 18 January 1957

Dear friend,

Many thanks for your kind letter and the news regarding publication possibilities.[627]

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[619] C. G. Jung Institute in Zurich.

[620] Aside from the fact that Keller's health was better in California than in Switzerland, his mediatory efforts between theology and psychology had been little understood by either side in Europe.

[621] Cf. letter 63.

[622] Keller probably observed this in his practice of pastoral psychology in California.

[623] "At evening time there shall be light." Zechariah 14:7, ESV. This is a vision of God's new world at the end of time.

[624] Cf. letter 57, footnote 398 on p. 201.

[625] Infinitum et invisibile (Latin) = infinite and invisible.

[626] L T 24 767. To Keller in Los Angeles.

[627] See the three previous letters.

I cannot fully imagine what impact your visit to Albert Schweitzer will have. If I were you, I would ask him, "Why did you leave Europe? The work you are doing in Africa could be done by others. But Europe needed a mind like yours!"[628] By the way, the public is beginning to be rather critical: as I recently read in an English newspaper, the "saintliness of Schweitzer" is being seriously called into question.[629] In my view he ran away from the problem[630] that arose after writing his great book,[631] preferring to doctor his projected shadow in the poor heathens.

I will be glad to see you again. It was news to me that you were bent on confirming that fine American song:

You want to tear up your civil papers
That gave you your dear home country!
You no longer want to be called Swiss
You want to go to America!
Oh, how fearfully beats the heart in my chest![632]

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[628] Cf. C. G., Jung, (Civilization in Transition), in *Flying Saucers: A Modern Myth of Things Seen in the Skies* (Zurich & Stuttgart, 1958), CW 10, para. 783

[629] This concerns Schweitzer's appeals against nuclear armament which aroused disapproval particularly among "anticommunists." Cf. e.g., Schweitzer's *Appeal to Humanity* (April 1957 on Radio Oslo) in Albert Schweitzer, *Gesammelte Werke in fünf Bänden,* (Collected works in five volumes), Vol. 5), Zurich: Ex Libris, no date), pp. 564–577. See letters 73, 74, 75, and 76.

[630] The Jesus-concept of the liberal Adolf von Harnack, with whom Keller had studied and who had strongly influenced Schweitzer, had proved untenable, see I, 1a), p. 3 above.

[631] Albert Schweitzer, *The Quest of the Historical Jesus,* (London: A. and C. Black, 1910). Jung wrote on this: "some questions were raised about Albert Schweitzer. I valued this man and his scholarly achievement very highly and admired his gifts and versatility." "Yet the result of his book is catastrophic since he reduces Jesus to a "highest authority:" "Schweitzer has avoided the concern imposing itself on the theologian in the face of the really terrible afflictio animae [Latin = suffering of the soul] of the European, the *cura animarum* [Latin = care of the soul], and studied medicine, in order to treat the sick *bodies of negroes*. . . . Schweitzer has left it to the European Christian to find out what on earth can be done with a relativized Christ." And: "A relativized Christ is no longer the same Christ of the gospel. Whoever relativizes him is in danger of becoming an Übermensch himself" (Jung's italics). From Jung to Rev. Dr. Willi Bremi, 11 December 1953, in: *C. G. Jung Letters* II, pp. 140–141. After Bremi had objected that Schweitzer had overcome the danger of nihilism, Jung replied on 26 December 1953, saying that Protestant theology had no reply to a relativized Christ, and that even Karl Barth had missed this problem (ibid, p. 145). Willi Bremi (1896–1985) was included in the Festschrift for Albert Schweitzer's eighty-fifth birthday, Bern: Paul Haupt-Verlag, 1960. Cf. I, 3e above.

[632] Cf. Werner Hinze: "Hier hat man täglich seine Noth." *Lieder von Auswanderern*. In collaboration with the German folksong archive, Hamburg. Hamburg: Tonsplitter, 2009, pp. 117f.

In closing I'd like to respond to your question about insufficient libido. If people show no libido, then even the Kaiser[633] has no say in the matter, i.e., no such need exists that could justify an effort. One can happily let such people stew in the juices of their own neurosis.

With best wishes for the
New Year
Your [Carl]

—

76 Keller[634]

Los Angeles, 9 March 1957

Dear friend,

I found your letter here after I had undertaken a massive flight from California, New York, Atlantic Ocean, Lisbon, Atlas, Sahara, Belgian Congo, Lambarene, and back via Zurich, Paris, New York.[635] In so doing I have become neither a worse European nor a determined extravert. My trip of 30,000 [kilometers lets one] be splendidly introverted and turn inside oneself, especially when one looks down over the incredible abyss of the Grand Canyon.

My mission with Schweitzer was similar to Stanley's with Livingstone.[636] Only that I am not Stanley and Schweitzer is not Livingstone.

He could probably do without saintliness, to retain his humanity. Large groups of doctors want to help him,[637] and he may be having a greater impact on humanist liberalism than the ecumenical movement.

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[633] A common saying meaning even the Kaiser cannot help someone who has nothing.

[634] L H 24 083. Keller's emphases.

[635] Hornaday to Jung: "Dr. Keller has arrived safely and actually seems more vital and vigorous than I have seen him for some time. . . . He called me and said in a very sanctimonious tone: 'Dr. Jung and I said Farewell.'" (Hornaday to Jung, 15 March 1957, in the C. G. Jung archive, ETH Hs 1056: 24 039).

[636] David Livingstone (1813–1873), Scottish missionary, explorer in Africa, and campaigner against the slave trade. The scene where Sir Henry Morton Stanley (another African explorer, 1841–1904) found him on 10 November 1871 in *Ujiji* by Lake Tanganyika and said: "Doctor Livingstone, I presume?" I.e., in the middle of the jungle the British upper class retained their formal forms of address. Keller wished to see the "disappeared" (like Livingstone) Schweitzer one last time.

[637] Dr. Fareed and the American doctors wished to gain clarity about the medical need at the hospital in Lambarene. Keller stayed in Lambarene for three weeks, had extended conversations with his old friend Schweitzer, and celebrated his eighty-fifth birthday in the hospital community.

The black shadow[638] was always very suited to American "debunking,"[639] which is sometimes heuristically useful and sometimes strikes in the wrong place because nothing great or human has any room alongside it.

Your memory for verse is still very youthful. Also your voice on the telephone[640] sounded quite adolescent to my ears. I had further proof in the Congo that one can have very interesting conversations about you, and also in Dakar on the African coast with a consular who had read all of your books. And also here at Pickwicks, an excellent bookshop.[641]

It's a comfort that we may see each other again in heaven. I hope for heaven and less for hell although a French abbot said: "Yes, the church teaches hell. But it does not say if there is anyone in it."[642]

Word is, the *publishers* confirm to me that publications about the "*gentleman,*" as Satan is called in English, are a hard sell. Thank you for your psychological advice. If *my handwriting* is a *problem*, send the letter to my secretary, Miss E. Perini, for a *transcript*. I warmly echo your wishes for the New Year.

Your Ad. Keller

—

[638] The negative in the soul.

[639] Debunking (Engl.). Reference to Jung's remarks in letter 75 about the "saintliness of Schweitzer."

[640] Keller telephoned Jung while in Zurich on his return journey from Lambarene; there was not enough time for a meeting. At that time transatlantic calls were very expensive and not common for private conversations.

[641] Cf. letter 65.

[642] This thesis was advocated by the Catholic Swiss theologian Hans Urs von Balthasar (1905–1988) et al. The same can be found by allusion in St. Catherine of Siena (1347–1380). Also, "at the end of the seventies of the previous century, Karl Rahner (1904–1984) categorically declared in the Freiburg Diocesan academy that all men would be saved, even though there was a hell—but it was empty. To the question about whether someone will come to God who does not wish to, he observed that God can transform the recalcitrant will of man, all men are hidden in the always greater love of God." Joseph Schumacher (theology professor in Freiburg in Breisgau.), in *Theologisches, Katholische Monatsschrift*, founded by Wilhelm Schamoni, Vol. 38, Nr. 07/08, July/August 2008, p. 214.

77 Keller[643]

Los Angeles, 12 July 1957

Dear friend

I don't know if you were able to read my last letter due to the misery of the unfamiliar typewriter and the lack of a German-speaking secretary. I am writing to you today because a professor at the University of Southern California, Professor Ziskind[644] from Los Angeles, would like to meet with you if possible. He is a psychiatrist and one of the psychologists here who is interested in Jungian depth psychology, whereas many others naturally understand Freud more easily from the perspective of materialist medical psychology. I don't know him personally and know of him from a respected doctor and friend here, whose recommendation he will bring you. Therefore, I was only able to say that everyone goes away in July and August if they can.[645] Perhaps you could inform my secretary, Miss E. Perini, whether you can see him. Since he knows some of your writing the contact might be valuable for you as well.

This letter thus explains my introduction. I'd be glad to know whether such introductions are acceptable to you.

I saw from your reception of Dr. Hornaday[646] that you easily overcame your initial resistance when you got to know him. Otherwise I would rather generally hold back, although I'm often asked about you. Also, in Fareed's[647] institute, whom you may recall. At present the education authorities are grappling with complex psychology in the face of "juvenile delinquency" and the phenomenon of Rock 'n Roll.

You ask me in a verse[648] whether I've now completely turned my back on Europe towards America. No—but even as a European I feel better here than in the European winter, and no longer am running into the pervasive conformism, even in the Zurich Club, that calls up in me the desire to remain a free human being.[649]

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[643] L T 24 083 (copy, presumably by Elisa Perini).

[644] Eugene Ziskind (1900–1993), professor of psychiatry at the University of Southern California.

[645] I.e., escaped the heat.

[646] Cf. letter 63.

[647] Fareed's institute: cf. letters 63, 73, and 74. Fareed accompanied Keller to Lambarene.

[648] Cf. letter 75.

[649] "Winter" is meant in both a literal and a figurative sense here: it was the California sun, and his frustration with the conservative, intolerant Swiss fifties, probably including personal wounds, that persuaded Keller ultimately to remain in California.

Has Dr. Hornaday satisfactorily answered your inquiry about the American translation?[650] Publishers here fear public opinion. It would be less so if your *Job* book made a clearer differentiation between Yahweh himself and God-consciousness that must achieve some inner development in relation to the image of Yahweh.[651] Anyway, these books might well find a publisher if one could only find the right one.

You may perhaps have read the Frenchman Peyrefitte whose *Clefs du Vatican* is hard to come by? Now an American translation has come out entitled *Key of the Vatican* that has caused a sensation due to its satirical take on the Roman tradition.[652] Therefore the book has now been put on the Index[653].

Alongside the polemic between psychoanalytic schools, one also hears voices that seek to build bridges between Freud and Jung. Ziskind may well want to do this when he speaks with you about archetypes.

Even if one knows your books, which I've known since you sent me the proofs of *Transformations of the Symbols of the Libido* in 1912 to take on my honeymoon, and I've mustered the courage to offer a dozen American female doctors a theoretical course about early development, some questions have arisen for me that I must no longer trouble you with. I'd be grateful if your secretary could tell me where, in your English books, you speak about the transcendent function in the sense of bridging the opposites. Everything you have written that has come out in English is available in the Pickwick bookshop,[654] whose owner is very interested in you.

I survived the flight to Africa and back via Zurich. After Tina's mother has died, maybe she will pack up in the autumn and also come out here.

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[650] Hornaday had written Jung already on 15. March 1957: "Have not as yet heard from the publishers regarding Answer to Job." (C. G. Jung archive, ETH Hs 1056: 24 039).

[651] In the Prefatory Note to *Job* written in 1956, Jung uses the term "God image" (CW 11, p. 358 [no para. no.]). In the text of *Job* dated 1952 he writes, unusually, mostly of "God" or "Yahweh." Thus it is no accident that Keller recalls the ambiguous inscription above the entrance to Jung's house at the end of this letter. In the Prefatory Note Jung refers to the urgent questions put to him by patients. He "knew what a storm would be raised." However, "the book does not pretend to be anything but the voice or question of a single individual who hopes or expects to meet with thoughtfulness in the public" (ibid.). Cf. II "On the Letters" above, p. 106.

[652] Roger Peyrefitte (1907–2000) wrote the historical novel *Les clefs de Saint Pierre*, (1953) which caused a great scandal. German translation: *Die Schlüssel von Sankt-Peter.* Munich: Goldmann, 1983.

[653] Index: a list of books banned by the Catholic church.

[654] Cf. letter 65.

We have two sons here after all.[655] You'll probably live in your tower on your own and with the evil spirits that are also there, but in the spirit of the inscription over the entrance to your house,[656] which I often ponder.

With warm wishes
Your Adolph Keller

—

78 Jung[657]

[Küsnacht], 27 July 1957

Dear friend,

Many thanks for your kind letter. If Professor Ziskind[658] wants to see me, then I'm quite willing to welcome him as long as I am in Küsnacht. I don't want to be disturbed in Bollingen, as I urgently need my holidays.

I have heard nothing more from Hornaday.[659] It also doesn't matter.

I know Peyrefitte's book *Les Clefs de St. Pierre*.[660] The man is very well informed, so it seems.

I will send you a copy of a small work that I wrote 40 years ago about the transcendent function.[661] By the way, I also said something in my typology book s.h.v.[662] about the transcendent function.

I was very sorry that you did not find time to see me in Zurich.

With best wishes
Your [Carl]

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[655] The elder son, Paul, had lived in California for many years, the younger, Pierre, was studying in Yale, and later studied and worked as a diplomat in New York.

[656] See I, 3d), p. 77 above, and appendix p. 247.

[657] L T 24 768. To Keller in Zurich, forwarded to Los Angeles.

[658] Cf. letter 77.

[659] Cf. letter 63.

[660] Cf. letter 77.

[661] Cf. C. G. Jung, "The Transcendent Function." *Geist und Werk. Aus der Werkstatt unserer Autoren. Zum 75. Geburtstag by Dr. Daniel Brody.* Zurich: Rhein-Verlag, 1958, pp. 3–33 This is a re-working of the earlier text of 1916. Keller received the original version. New edition in CW 8:2.

[662] C. G. Jung, *Psychological Types,* CW6. s. h. v.=sub hoc verbo (Latin)=under this heading.

79 Keller[663]

Los Angeles, 10 August 1957

Dear friend,

I first wanted to respond to your letter of 27 July and explain that it was simply not possible for me to make visits during my trip to Zurich since my travel schedule was fixed. Thanks for your brochure about the transcendent function, which I'm now discussing with a new psychoanalyst here, Brandt.[664]

When Professor Ziskind[665] is in Zurich, my secretary will ask you whether you can see him. You must not think that I'm now Americanized, as your letter suggested. But I had to escape from the conformity of Zurich and the Swiss.

I rarely see Hornaday; [666] his hectic life makes him ill.

The Freudians are contending for sole supremacy here. Someone[667] came from the Freud archive to do an interview with me that I could not approve of afterwards.

Upton Sinclair[668] and Wylie[669] send greetings.

Warm wishes from your
[Adolf Keller]

—

[663] L T 24 084 (presumably made by Elisa Perini).

[664] Presumably Lewis Wolfgang Brandt, born 1921, later professor in Canada, who published on "Freud and Schiller" (*Psychoanalysis and the Psychoanalytic Review*, Vol. 46, Number 4, Winter 1960, pp. 98–101), "Some Notes on English Freudian Terminology" (*The Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association*, Vol. X, April 1961, Number 2, pp. 331–339), *Psychologists Caught: A Psycho-logic of Psychology* (Toronto/Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1982), and *Freud Analyzed through Moses* (Toronto: Regis College Press, 1989).

[665] Cf. letters 77 and 78.

[666] Cf. letter 63.

[667] The psychologist Kurt Eissler (communicated by Ulrich Hoerni, 3 January 2013).

[668] Cf. letter 52.

[669] Cf. letter 52.

80 Keller[670]

Los Angeles, 19 October 1957

Dear friend,

I must thank you for sending the booklet on the transcendent function.[671] The problem is constantly on the agenda. But it would be asking too much of you to enter into a discussion about it, especially as so much has changed here. I would keep it brief and would get to the urgent matters immediately, including mention of visits to you. They have become a part of your international impact and belong to the burden of a famous man.

A new visitor whom I know personally would like to see you if it is possible for you. He is Professor Brandt,[672] clinical professor at Loyola university,[673] Hungarian by birth, practically a pupil of Pfister,[674] but open and receptive towards you; he has also written about transference and forensics and is now giving a lecture to the psychological society.[675]

I heard about your lecture at the Congress in Zurich[676] and was glad that Tina wrote to you about it.

I'm staying here for the winter and will perhaps take on a course for theologians about what depth psychology can offer to counseling.

One often senses here that one belongs to Europe even if we urgently need the USA. I'm in no danger of abandoning my European self. My equilibrium remains constant and has also helped me to an uncommon degree with my health at my age. But at this age, preparedness is the greatest wisdom.

With warm wishes
Your [Adolf Keller]

—

[670] L T 24 085 (copy, presumably made by E. Perini). Keller's final letter to Jung, shortly before suffering his stroke.

[671] Cf. letters 78 and 79.

[672] Cf. letter 79.

[673] Various institutions carry the name Loyola University. The Loyola Law School is located in Los Angeles and has a Juvenile Justice Clinic where Brandt was perhaps engaged as a psychiatrist.

[674] On Oskar Pfister, (1873–1956), Keller's friend, cf. above I, 1a) and I, 2a), p. 17.

[675] There is large number of Psychological Associations in South California.

[676] The second world congress for psychiatry (see letter 17) took place in early September 1957 in Zurich. Cf. 2. *Internationaler Kongress fur Psychiatrie=2nd International Congress for Psychiatry=2e Congrès International de Psychiatrie=2° Congreso Internacional de Psiquiatria=2e Congresso Internazionale di Psichiatria, Zurich (Switzerland), September 1st to 7th 1957, Congress Report* (Zurich: Orell Füssli, 1959). Keller's joy about Tina's letter is striking; he perceives this as a sign of reconciliation.

81 Jung[677]

Küsnacht, 3 April 1958

Dear friend,

In a letter from Dr. Hornaday[678] I learned that something serious[679] has befallen you. I am very shaken and distraught by your news. Fortunately with your strong constitution there is a good chance of a substantial recovery. However, much patience will be required. But at our age we have learned to look all kinds of fates, intrepida mente,[680] squarely in the eye and to leave all that is good and helpful to higher powers.

I hope from my heart that a good recovery is granted to you.

In old loyalty
Your C. G. Jung[681]

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[677] L H 26 303a, Jung's last letter to Keller. It appears heartfelt; his consternation is palpable. Cryptically he mentions his faith in God's succor. This is similar to his last two letters to Victor White. At the end of 1959 he had written: "I must mention, in self-defense, that you expressed yourself publicly in such a negative way about my work that I really did not know what your real attitude would be" (Jung to White, 21 October 1959, in *The Jung-White Letters*, p. 282). After White wrote to Jung: "But please understand I am eager for your work to spread for it is so needed" (18 March 1960, ibid., 284), Jung replied to the dying White: "Don't worry! I think of you in everlasting friendship" (25 March 1960, ibid., p. 286).

[678] Cf. letter 54. Hornaday had written Jung: "It is indeed unfortunate to write you under these circumstances. I know you would want to know. Our beloved friend, Dr. Adolphe Keller, has suffered a stroke. Although his body is not paralyzed, he cannot speak coherently nor can he write. I have endeavored to see him every day, in order to afford him any assistance possible. He understands much of which I speak, providing I speak slowly and very coherently. The Neurologist declares that the other side of the brain must be re-educated, a process of three years duration, if he is to ever be functional again. Yesterday he smiled broadly when I mentioned your name. For this reason I believe it would be most helpful if you would write him a short message of encouragement which I could read to him. I sincerely feel that no letter he could receive would be as important as one from you. . . . No visitors are permitted, only his son [the elder son Paul, who lived in Los Angeles] and myself" (Hornaday to Jung, 27 March 1958, in the C. G. Jung archive).

[679] Stroke, early in 1958.

[680] Intrepida mente (Latin) = with an even temperament.

[681] Hornaday wrote after Jung's letter arrived: "Received your prompt reply to my letter regarding our beloved Dr. Keller. He was delighted and I am sure it proved helpful. . . . At the time I did write to you I did not know of the immediate arrival of Mrs. Keller and her daughter. She took over the situation . . . telling me I had no right to inform his friends of his illness. . . . However she replied that it was her duty and only hers" (Hornaday to Jung, 16. April 1958, C. G. Jung archive). On 1 August 1958 Tina Keller wrote to Jung from California: "Dear Carl, . . . I have now been in this beautiful country for nearly 4 ½ months and have had a very valuable time, especially inwardly. . . . Adolf was absolutely right to wish to spend the evening of his life in the sunshine and the warmth. Your godchild Margrit is taking excellent care of him. He has substantially lost his memory, and it is very difficult to communicate. But we do make contact and he still has his radiance in good times, he is at peace and expresses this in his own way, he accepts what life is asking of him" (C. G. Jung archive).

Appendix

Analytic Psychology and Religious Research

By Adolf Keller[1]

As one crosses the threshold of C. G. Jung's home, the visitor is arrested by a Latin inscription carved in stone on the door lintel; it is from the Delphic oracle: vocatus atque non vocatus deus aderit.[2] If one penetrates further into Jung's intellectual dwelling, one wonders how this inscription

[1] Originally published in *Die Kulturelle Bedeutung der Komplexen Psychologie,* Psychological Club Zurich (Berlin, Julius Springer, 1935), pp.271–297. This was a Festschrift on the occasion of Jung's 60th birthday on 26 July 1935. The footnotes are by Marianne Jehle-Wildberger. Small errors in the text have been corrected. See under I, 3d) above.

[2] Vocatus atque non vocatus deus aderit (Latin) = bidden or not, God is present. The classical quotation originates in the *Adagia* [= proverbs] of Erasmus of Rotterdam (in the Leiden edition of 1700, No. 2.3.32). As a 19-year-old, Jung had acquired an edition of this text, dated 1563. The Delphic saying was important to him. It is not only found above the door in Küsnacht, but also on his Ex Libris of 1925. Cf. Sonu Shamdasani, *C. G. Jung, A Biography in Books*, op. cit., pp. 46–49. Cf. also Jung to Eugene M. E. Rolfe, 19. November 1960, in *C. G. Jung Letters* II, pp. 610–611: "By the way, you will seek the puzzling saying 'Bidden or not God is present' in vain in Delphi: it is carved in stone above the entrance to my house in Küsnacht, Zurich. Also in the collection *Adagia* by Erasmus (16th century edition). But it is a Delphic oracle and means: Yes, God will be present, but in which form and with which intention? I placed the inscription here in order to remind my patients and myself: '*Timor* dei initium sapientiae. [(Latin) = The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom. Psalm 111:10.' Here begins another no less significant path, not the entry point to 'Christianity' but to God Himself, and this seems to be the ultimate question." Jung's view converges here with early dialectical theology, without his realizing it! See I, 3b), p. 68 above. Cf. I,3d), p. 76 above.

should be translated: Bidden or unbidden God is present, or should it be *a* God or *the* God or the divine?[3] This cannot be so easily determined from the Latin with which Jung addresses his visitor. This is similar to Jung's psychological language, which is a portentous plethora of possible meanings that express as much as they conceal. If its declaration means that bold Faustian step into virgin or prohibited territory, then its silence is a hushed reverence in the face of the unutterable and the ineffable—a synthesis of the scholarly, pioneering spirit of research, and the breath of sustained religious awe in the face of the numinous that he therefore prefers to call by a hushed and tentative name—so as not to disturb the god—rather than by the clamorous definitions of a know-it-all theology that scares away its living presence.

A unique, almost impenetrable religious dialectic runs through Jung's intellectual work, an almost inaudible conversation with an unknown other, in which first the yes, then the no is more audible. The religious problem has increasingly achieved a ubiquitousness in Jung's thinking that does not need to be pointed out. Wherever the soul is to be found, there is religion also. Not in the form of a familiar church, but rather as a fateful encounter with a more powerful spiritual reality that insists on being engaged with. If religion in general rests on the ability to allow oneself to be deeply affected by powers that transcend consciousness, then the first and most essential thing is simply this influence, but not the intellectual form of this suffering, which takes place, *a posteriori*, in a domain that is already alien to the matter. The reality of this experience of being affected anticipates the truth of its conscious formulation.

Jung has created space once again for this reality within psychology. This should first of all be gratefully acknowledged by religion. All the more as theology had some grounds to be rather suspicious of psychology when it engaged with religion, because it rarely showed the religious phenomenon an appropriate understanding as a psychic reality in its own right.

Thus, a rational *Psychology of Consciousness* became fixated on the contents of consciousness, projecting these as concepts into abstract

[3] Cf. Otto Haendler, professor of theology, who quoted from Adolf Keller's commentary on the inscription above Jung's door and comments: "It must have been completely in Jung's mind that every translation is possible and should be possible, in the sense of a communio religiosorum": Haendler, *Psychologie und Religion von Sigmund Freud bis zur Gegenwart*, in Scharfenberg, Joachim and Winkler, Klaus (Eds.), *Otto Haendler: Tiefenpsychologie, Theologie und Seelsorge*, Gottingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1971, p.55. On Haendler, see letter 64 and II "On the Letters," p. 113.

intellectual space and thereby cutting off the rational from its dark, irrational hinterland.

Experimental Psychology forfeits the soul itself in favor of the soul's functions. It atomizes them and, by reducing the ego to its functions, destroys even what resides beyond its boundaries, that is, the whole from which all motive powers flow.

Gestalt Psychology has the advantage that it does not isolate the soul's functions but rather seeks to embrace them in their total inter-relationship. But this need for form—or *Gestalt*—does not do justice to the fact that the formless is also part of the soul and that it absolutely governs its dynamic process.

Act Psychology penetrates more deeply into the mysterious being of the soul in that it seeks to give meaning. But this meaning-making happens all too easily from the standpoint of the impatient observer and interpreter, instead of allowing it to grow out of the living process itself in order not to disturb the process of becoming with precipitous meaning.

The *Psychology of the Unconscious* was the first to delve more deeply into that mystery in which the soul has its authentic roots. But the promising genetic-dynamic psychology as Freud established it aroused the misgivings of theological scholarship all the more since it derived the higher from the lower, interpreted the spiritual from the unspiritual, understood the most sublime religious expressions from purely biological drives, and hence consequently portrayed religion altogether as an illusion.

Jung's rejection of the Freudian viewpoint also cut off at the root such illusion theories within the psychology of religion. Jung's sense of the objective inner reality of the psycho-spiritual world protected him not only from such absurdities, but also led him to a fundamentally different stance on psychic phenomena that also became pertinent to the psychology of religion. In the true sense, the psyche possesses the nature of reality. This applies therefore not only in the external world of things, but also the inner world that makes itself known in the phenomena of the psyche.

Jung's *Analytical Psychology* thus achieves a new and distinctive significance for the *Psychology of Religion*. These possibilities for relationship have not yet been worked through sufficiently in either their theoretical or their practical considerations, although Jung is explicitly challenging theologians to debate and collaboration. One such opportunity is all the more obvious since Jung orients himself consciously

within Protestant territory even if, as he says, he sees that his "own position is on the extreme left-wing in the parliament of Protestant opinion."[4]

The time has probably not yet come to give a rounded religious-psychological account of the insights and perceptions of Analytical Psychology. Here, too, it can no longer be a question of repeating what knowledge of the unconscious signifies for the psychology of religion as a whole, how its earliest and general concepts of repression, transference, the formation of symbols, and sublimation are to be exploited theoretically and practically by the psychology of religion. This has in part already been done and to a great extent has become of practical use. Here, the task at hand is more the attempt to examine the distinctiveness of Analytical Psychology in its significance for religious research and pastoral care, that is, to illuminate those newer experiences and concepts that seem to deepen or extend the understanding of the religious man and to explore the usefulness of the psychological help that depth psychology offers to pastoral care. This offers theology some facts to consider that it may not disregard without cost. If consciousness is growing in extent, then that holy *Temenos*[5] in which the soul has taken up residence is also extending itself. If the soul, wounded, breaks out of the burning house of the present age in order to save its very existence, then the Christian theology of our rebellious age must surely wonder why the soul would want to seek refuge in yet another burning house, or might not prefer to make its way out into the open field, far away from old, crumbling systems, from ineffective psychological or spiritual methods, from knowledge without reverence since it holds no mystery, in order to attempt to create something new there with the living energies still available to it.

I. Prologue

Prior to this discussion, the following foundations of Analytical Psychology are outlined that relate especially closely to the psychology of religion, and delineate and determine its relationship with it from the outset.

1 Analytical Psychology is a psychology of understanding. It is not concerned with a reductive explanation of psychological

[4] Jung, "Psychotherapists or the Clergy," CW 11, para. 537. Cf. Michael Utsch in *Spuren Gottes im Unbewussten? Tiefenpsychologie und Religion bei Carl Gustav Jung*, in *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Weltanschauungsfragen* 9/11, Berlin, *Evangelische Zentralstelle für Weltanschauungsfragen* 2011, p. 327.

[5] Temenos (Greek) = sacred enclosure or precinct.

phenomena that simply attributes what is unknown to what is supposedly known. It does not violate reality with preconceptions or principles, but shows it both fear and respect because it is overwhelmingly confronted by the reality of the soul, but at the same time imposes the requirement upon it to contain it as soul. This insistence is the making of meaning. Principally, it is not the complete and mutually conditioned causal connection of phenomena that is sought, but the meaning they have for man. By seeking meaning in reality, this is considered spiritual and as such captured in the meaning-making. A psychology of understanding does not have at its command sovereignly and once and for all the elements of this reality, but receives them in an attitude of awe which is *per se* religious in nature—this means humility in the face of the unknown and willingness to "surrender willingly to Him in gratitude."

2 Analytical Psychology is a genetic-dynamic psychology, that is, it does not seek to contain dynamic events within a static system, but it traces the life process itself, not only its biological course but also the perceptual process that is a feature of the life process. It observes its prelogical functions, its primitive images and its embryonic perceptual possibilities, and pursues the evolution of apperception back into that dark domain located before the splitting into subject and object, between being and consciousness. Hence it discovers the psychic headwaters out of which all mysticism arises and liberates religious life in general from the compulsion and superstition that restrict it to a rational framework of conscious intellectual and dispositional values. If SCHLEIERMACHER[6] considered religion's most distinguishing feature to be the feeling of absolute dependency, this psychology forbids any such an identification of the religious with any sort of concrete psychological reality, whether of the intellect or disposition, and sees it much more in that inexplicable excelsior, which seems to direct the life-process itself, magisterially but unconsciously and mysteriously.

3 Analytical Psychology has a synthetic concept of the psyche by positing a totality towards which the life-process in the individual strives. This totality is not given, but rather surrendered. Its integration is dependent on time and on the hidden meaning of the

[6] Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834), German theologian and philosopher.

life-process itself that reveals itself only in the process of becoming and in action. Thus that character of mystery is retained for becoming and for the soul itself, through which predominantly religious becoming and thinking is determined.

4 Analytical Psychology methodologically rules out any kind of transcendence as has been the norm for the Psychology of Religion since RIBOT,[7] JAMES[8] and FLOURNOY.[9] Aware of its boundaries, it refuses to make claims about the metaphysical nature of reality or a transcendent origin of the religious phenomenon. This self-limitation should not simply be considered psychologism. JUNG expressly emphasizes: "It is my intention to mercilessly brush aside the metaphysical claims of all esoteric doctrines. For such secret power agendas do not sit well with the fact of our profound ignorance to which one should have the modesty to admit. Most intentionally, I want to haul what sounds metaphysical into the daylight of psychological understanding—the abusive term 'psychologism' applies only to a fool who thinks he has got his soul all sewn up."[10] Thus, if Jung occasionally speaks of God as an archetypal image, then he is seeking to intentionally confine himself to the aspect of religious reality that is available to psychology. Here, Analytical Psychology has indisputably extended our vision and given anthropology a new religious meaning.

II. The Psychological Reality of Religion.

In its own terms, no psychology can speak of God as a metaphysical reality. If the psychologist speaks of God, he means the religious experience, the already created and consciously experienced relationship between the divine and the human. God is then already "an image to portray an unfathomable and unutterable experience," thus *our* image, *our* reaction, *our* reflection of an unknown power that breaks spectacularly into our internal life. That it takes place within the bounds of human experience takes away nothing of the devastating force from the experience itself. JUNG takes even the last traces of such religious experience more seriously than

[7] Théodule A. Ribot (1839–1916), French psychologist and philosopher.
[8] Cf. I, 1a), p. 7.
[9] Cf. I, 1a), p. 7.
[10] Keller does not give a citation reference.

most people who acknowledge religious experience exclusively within a confined, cultural-historical, religious-historical domain and in prescribed, familiar forms. He demands explicitly that man consider "the psychic powers to be real again." Precisely inasmuch as these are not under man's control, but rather demand submission and obedience, do they unveil their religious aspect and unfold their religious effect.

This unveiling must not simply be equated with what Christian theology calls *revelation*. This has a specific meaning that cannot be found within purely psychological contexts. Theology already differentiates this term between act and being: the act of revelation of the religious subject and the revealed being that somehow is available to the psyche as revelation and has entered into its field of experience. The act itself is withheld from our perceiving or acting grasp; it is "metareligious." The being that is made available to us through this act penetrates generously and imperiously into our awareness and into our disposition. JUNG takes account of the character of this act of religious experience when, for example, he characterizes it as "man feels as if a voice speaks to him." He does not explore the source and the origin of this voice or even ascribe a hypostatized existence to it. He directs his entire attention to this "being spoken to," thus to a psychological correlation that is perceptible only according to its immanent aspect, while its metaphysical transcendence initially only means the mystery of this relationship about which nothing can be said psychologically. [11]

In a purely formal respect this position corresponds to a differentiation that is becoming radically prevalent today in the latest theology, namely between the revelation of God and human *religion*. Jung says: "When we call God or the Tao an impulse or a condition of the soul, we are saying something only about the knowable, not about the unknowable of which absolutely nothing can be said." Contemporary dialectical theology would endorse this statement with one single reservation: "except through the revelation of this unknowable per se." But since revelation aims at the experience of man, the above statement arrives at this discovery: the religiously transcendent is transcendent until—through revelation—it becomes available to human experience, that is, immanent.

[11] On act and being: Jung says man "feels as if a voice speaks to him." Keller does not verify the quotation. The theological discussion of those years was actively engaged with the themes of "Act and Being"; cf. Dietrich Bonhoeffer's habilitation thesis of 1931: *Akt und Sein. Transzendentalphilosophie und Ontologie in der systematischen Theologie* (*Werke*, Vol. 2, Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlaghaus, 1988), in which he sought to mediate between the two positions, as did Keller between Barth and Jung.

The question of transcendence may therefore be happily ignored in this attempt to better illuminate the meaning of Analytical Psychology for religious research. This is not theology as such, or doctrine about God and his revelation, but rather an exploration of the nature of religion in general, thus part of that religious experience arising from transcendent sources, partly that religiosity growing wild that is part of man's experience, his longing, his revival, his inner development and education, his highest psychological-intellectual expression—a confession of the deep homelessness of man in matter, in his mortality, a witness to the fact that he knows himself to be mortal and yet hopes to preserve his life or to acquire it anew, an immediate feeling that the source of God percolates deep in his own soul.

This applies above all to *mysticism*, being the highest expression of the relationship with God that breaks forth in man. Inasmuch as it reaches down into the unconscious depths of man, mystical religion can be illuminated in a particular way by depth psychology. This includes all Gnostic religiosity, whose images are also created out of the depths of the unconscious. It cannot be disputed that precisely here Analytical Psychology has rendered a particular service, in that through its concept of the collective unconscious it facilitated a tremendous extension of what transcends consciousness from which all authentic mysticism originates, that it demonstrated the ways in which this unconscious functioned and how the common archetypal images that move or accompany the religious process in its impetus forward are partly found, partly interpreted.

If Analytical Psychology proves to be particularly fertile for the understanding of primitive religion, of mysticism and Gnosticism, then the limits of its method become evident in relation to prophetic religion, which claims to stand in connection not only with a deeper soul, a reality that transcends consciousness, but maintains that divine reality, as a metaphysically transcendent Thou, addresses the prophetic man. As far as his psychological behavior is concerned, the prophet is hard to differentiate from a possessed person, as VON MURALT[12] and ROSENTHAL[13] have shown. This distinction is not dependent on purely psychological categories. We must let the matter rest here, having regard to the aforementioned

[12] Alex von Muralt (1888–1959), Swiss doctor and psychoanalyst, *Ein Pseudoprophet. Eine psychoanalytische Studie* (Munich: Ernst Reinhardt Press, 1920).

[13] Hugo Rosenthal (1887–1980), German Jewish pedagogue. Keller refers to his article "Der Typengegensatz in der jüdischen Religionsgeschichte" in C. G. Jung (et al.), *Wirklichkeit der Seele. Anwendungen und Fortschritte der neueren Psychologie*, (*Psychologische Abhandlungen*, Vol. IV). (Zurich: Rascher, 1934), pp. 355–409.

difference between divine revelation and human religion. It is precisely due to the exclusion of transcendence that we are exploring only the significance of Analytical Psychology for the understanding of religious experience, of human religiosity per se.

TERTULLIAN[14] saw in the soul a predisposition towards Christianity: anima naturaliter Christiana. This does not seem so obvious to us today. On the other hand, Analytical Psychology also confirms that the anima naturaliter religiosa, the soul, possesses a deep, universal religious predisposition, animated by a dynamic that has left its trace in the great symbols of all religions and is the repository of forms and images which by and large reveal a surprising conformity. The eternal questions of birth and death, of guilt and reconciliation, of the highest enrichment of life have been asked by every people in a religious framework, thus in the faith that man has to grapple with powers that far exceed the domain and the power of the conscious ego.

Analytical Psychology is doubly significant for the understanding of this "natural religion."

A. The Unmasking of "Religion"

For its own part, the theology of revelation undertook such an unmasking in order to protect what is divine from being confused with what is human. It erected an insurmountable wall of transcendence in which there are no doors to God originating with man, and where God is enthroned on high, alone in unattainable and unknowable heights. He is not only the numinous, mysterium tremendum ac fascinosum,[15] but also the Deus absconditus[16] (LUTHER), the distant, strange God whose sovereignty loftily eschews all over-familiar religious practices. Dialectical theology[17] erected this separating partition between God and man, between the divine world of revelation and human forms of religion, because it recognized that the God of religion is frequently a false god, that religion and formal ecclesiality mask much that is all too human with a pious quasi-godly appearance. This human religiosity has God at its disposal and is

[14] Tertullian (c.150–c.220), early Christian writer from Carthage. On his thesis "anima naturaliter Christiana" and its variations, cf. I, 1b), p. 10 above, footnote 45.

[15] Mysterium tremendum ac fascinosum cf. p. 128 above, footnote 60.

[16] Deus absconditus (Latin) = the hidden God, an expression in Luther's book *De Servo Arbitrio* [On the bondage of the will] of 1525.

[17] Dialectical theology denotes a theological movement, founded predominantly by Karl Barth after the First World War, see I,3b), p. 68 above.

often far removed from holy awe and the terrifying reverence that befalls a man when he encounters the real, living God and must remain silent. The zeal to protect the sovereignty of God often goes so far that the experience of a supernatural proclamation, the immanence of the divine act, are sacrificed to an abstract transcendence. "Religion" is annihilated by faith, being understood as the opening of man from above. This occurs through the agency of the Holy Spirit who broods over man as and when He pleases. However, in the most recent development of this theology it has been conceded that a God who no longer enters into our experience would have nothing more to say to us—a criticism that Jung has always leveled.[18]

Thus, one of this theology's concerns has now been powerfully endorsed from the perspective of Analytical Psychology inasmuch as this concern itself implies a merciless critique of that very religion manifest in jaded traditions, in empty customs and forms, in feigned feelings and thoughts, and which today is absolutely a splendid, unconscious hypocrisy, or self-deception. But whereas, in the name of a transcendent unknown God, dialectical theology assumed a policing function towards these human religious practices, exercised from an abstract height, the new psychology undermines these same inauthentic religious forms empirically and analytically from within. For in many cases it shows "religion" to be the actual place of concealment, in that it hides not only all manner of secular and even very earthly interests, but in that man hides from God himself. By pointing empirically to the soul's unlimited capacity to symbolize as Schleiermacher and the Romantics in general had already done, it was convincingly proved that there is nothing in the soul that cannot stand for something else, that the ego of man is a true Proteus who can transform himself into anything; biblically put, that human nature is mendacious and capricious. With all these counterfeits and masquerades, we would need to erect an actual table of lies and dissimulation, for nothing is what it seems until that inexorable encounter occurs, and that voice speaks to man that can no longer be evaded and finally ascertains our inner truth.

Thus, the sexual phenomenon that for Freud is a type of archetypal phenomenon must be understood not only concretely but also symbolically and representatively. Also it is often only a trajectory in which an invisible mole is up to his tricks, be it as an unconscious wish for power or as a savior phantasy, or a drive to unio mystica, or a secret act of cruelty,

[18] See I 3e, p. 81 and letter 75, footnote 631 on p. 237.

or a will to destruction, or a comic vision, or a religious ritual or the fear of death, or a wish for reality, or a delusion of being equal to God. An insight that is important not least for pastoral care!

In the same way "religiosity" often reveals itself as an ultimate and highest disguise of the demons of money, of power, of fear, of the senses, of arrogance, of self-assertion, of madness. Depth psychology has done more to expose this daimonie of religion than ten thousand preachers of repentance. It simply says to man: this is what you are like and shows him his truth by calling every demon by its true name, whether he has a holy or unholy cloak around him. With sober objectivity, psychology lays bare man's shame for which he had often found such an ideal fig leaf expressly in religion. The motive for uncovering these disguises is not irreverence, but that courage towards truth that knows: "Ce qu'il y a de terrible lorsqu'on cherche la vérité, c'est qu'on la trouve."[19] Analytical Psychology here reveals a parallel with the contemporary theological attack on idealism. If this is based in the moral domain on an idea of man, on a "should," that initially conceals the awareness of being, then Analytical Psychology seeks to penetrate to the actual unshrouded reality of the soul and uncovers it in its wretched, dubious cupiditas,[20] in its unquenchable self-seeking, its delusions of grandeur, its despair as black as night, in the whole terrible powers of its labyrinthine lower drives. In this way, it offers a dreadful empirical analogia entis[21] to the condition that Christian theology describes as original sin.

Among others, the term "persona" is useful for this unmasking of "religion," and expressly in this area of the psychology of religion it has not yet been fully exploited. The persona is that mask, that spruced up part of our being, through which we conduct our normal interaction with the outside world. However, there are also collective masks to which an entire nation or church has pre-bound itself for its dealings with the rest of the world. This takes place unconsciously, of course. But everyone knows that typical national collective persona that the German wears when he presents his "Teutonic" character through which the world is

[19] A statement by the French author Rémy de Gourmont (1858–1915): "The terrible thing is that when we seek the truth we find it."

[20] Cupiditas (Latin) = avarice, eager desire.

[21] Analogia entis (Latin) = analogy by way of being, a concept particularly from Roman-Catholic fundamentalist theology. Between God and the world there exists an ontological equivalence.

to be healed,[22] or that vanity and "esprit" that belongs to the official photograph of the "grande nation," or the gentleman who rules the collective expression of the British people in relation to the outside world.

In the same way the official external religiosity of individual types of church is not generally the ultimate and deepest expression of the inner veracity of faith, but rather a persona, a conventional, historical character passed on from generation to generation and from which true religious life and the individual's desire can probably be differentiated.

Thus Anglicanism succumbs gladly to an official ceremonial approach, and deals with the rest of the world through its claim to a special dignity that exonerates it from much personal effort and forms only the outermost crust of an inward nucleus. In the same way, Methodism is surrounded by an atmosphere of a cheerful and agitated spirit of protest, and the Reformed church of Switzerland has an ineradicable resentment of all authority, a type of permanent iconoclasm that easily sets it apart under the appearance of an ultimate authenticity and veracity.

An ultimate will to awareness that does not stop in the face of such a collective persona nor before the limits of consciousness and an idealist self-glorification becomes an ineluctable critique of common, collective religiosity, a critique of the nature of religion *per se* that has repeatedly called forth iconoclasts, preachers, and prophets—"those individuals" who tear the religious masks from the faces of the many who only live within a collective herd-like feeling.

This critique of religion is a necessary task that can be undertaken in every age, whether from the top down or from the bottom up. But this unveiling, this "revelation" of the hidden man, of man as he is in all his masks, is only one aspect in which Analytical Psychology is influencing today's theological critique of "religion." The other is:

B. The Discovery of Hidden Religion

These days it would be an unforgivable superficiality to seek man's piety only in his conscious "religion." For many modern people, it has well-nigh fled this domain completely. Flight from religion, from church, from God is part of the contemporary spiritual situation and is a type of conversion

[22] Allusion to the famous verses by the German poet Emanuel Geibel (1815–1884): "Und es mag am deutschen Wesen / Einmal noch die Welt genesen." ("And through the German character, the world shall still be healed") "Deutschlands Beruf" (1861). In *Works*, vol. 4, Stuttgart 1883, p.215.

in the reverse sense, namely away from God and recognized religious objects. But the true meaning of religion has not disappeared. Just as at times the earthly seeks to hide in the divine, the devil transforming himself into an angel of light, so God also hides in man, the divine calling in human destiny, and the pearls of great price fall into the excrement of the street, into the grubby hands of common peddlers. Religion that is consciously repudiated merely re-emerges in the unconscious. It is simply relocated, out of the temple and back into the stable, out of the official superior and sacred functions and regions of the soul into the lower; out of worship, ecstasy, the sacred, loving intimacy with God into the dark abysses of abandonment, despair, and the most extreme terror, weeping, and gnashing of teeth. The Psalmist finds God as easily in hell as in heaven. A mystical saying declares: *to ana, to kata* (as above, so below).

Analytical Psychology now demonstrates this in its discoveries of unconscious forms of religion in the profane life of the individual. These include the external symbols and forms of religious representation. The fish, the significant "ichthys"[23] that we see in the catacombs and early Christian chapels, has glided back into the deep water of the unconscious and re-appears there, even without conscious historical context, in dreams and fantasies as a sign of a living presence; the dove, the tree of paradise, the altar, the sacrificial fire, the Eucharist, the hieroglyphics of life belong to the unconscious religious inventory of the soul. The priest whom the modern pagan flees from is encountered in his dreams. The cross is erected in the unconscious and requires even the modern man who denies it or does not understand it, to seek its meaning. He can throw stones at it or cower on his knees—it is there, and he must get to grips with it.

The unconscious reiteration of religious or ritual actions is as immediate and effective as this omnipresence of religious symbols. Man who could not be forced into church is compelled, in a compulsion neurosis, into ritual actions that he does not understand but that have the imperative and numinous character of true religious behavior. The Eucharistic sacrifice that is consciously scorned in its highest and finest sacred form is carried out eagerly in primitive symbolic actions of perhaps the lowest or most lascivious type. Lady Macbeth, who rejects dealing with the guilt problem in consciousness, must wash her beautiful hands while sleepwalking in compensation and prove that the mea culpa[24] does not cause her to suffocate and that an ultimate responsibility calls man to its court.

[23] Ichthys (Greek = fish).

[24] Mea culpa (Latin) = it is my fault.

The devil who wanted to disrupt the holy man as he built the chapel must instead wheeze as he carts the stones with which to build it. One could fill books with such testimonies of unknown religiosity in disguise, to which man confesses unwittingly and that belie the true nature of his claim to sovereignty and self-glorification. When religion disappears from consciousness it seeps into the ordinary desire for power, into sexuality, into the unconsciousness of profane life, into dreams and fantasies, into illness and madness.

These insights appeared early on in depth psychology. Through Jung, however, they have been linked in this way to the general history of religion, which shows that mythology, religion, and ritual concern not only historically past things, but a living presence, for at any moment the collective unconscious can activate archetypal religious experience in the individual.

However, what is essential is not the discovery of religious symbols and acts in the domain of the unconscious, the compilation of a formidable repertoire of forms common to ten thousand religions, but rather the discovery that this act of being addressed by a higher power which Jung describes as essential to religious experience takes place in concrete situations which at first have nothing to do with "religious" contents. We have stressed above that countless religious people find themselves in an inauthentic religious situation. They carry their religious inheritance around like a burden, or it hangs on them like a pendant.[25] When is a religious situation authentic? It is still not that at all so long as mere moral habits rule man or he only empathizes aesthetically. To deliberately use Jung's obscure expression, it is authentic when a dialectical relationship arises between the I and the authoritative voice that addresses it, that is, where the I feels imperatively confronted by a power within a fateful moment, a kairos, in which one settles on whether "to be nor not to be," on one's inner truth and value. Here everything depends on whether the "I" can enter into an "unconditional attitude,"[26] an unconditional surrender, or can achieve absolute obedience. One recalls Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac.[27]

Christian theology has in fact recently shown a particular understanding of this dialectic of a religious relationship, even if a purely formal parallel of the forms of expression or the peculiarity of the event would not

[25] Pendant charm = charms often on the watch-strap or chain.
[26] Unconditional attitude.
[27] Cf. Genesis 22.

yet be enough to call such a thing Christian. For this encounter can confront man with a demon or the devil. For theology therefore, the question of truth or the question of validity is posed here, that cannot be solved from the perspective of psychology but only through that discernment that is the innermost mystery of the individual himself.

In the face of a cursory grasp of Freud's psychoanalysis, which reduces religious processes to biological facts with the familiar "nothing but," it is remarkable to see that Analytical Psychology permits the religious process its mystery. No prepared schema, no known norm, no preknown goal determines the way that the unknown power, the voice, proposes and leads. The mystery of the dynamic process that takes place in this dialectal relationship is so strongly preserved that Analytical Psychology does not describe itself as a specific technique that could perhaps shape the life process or determine the individuation of man in an established direction. When dialectical theology warns the religious man against dismissively cutting the unknown God down to a familiar size in the hubris of an irreverent intellectualism and even speaks of the unknown Christ and of unknown Christians, here, in the same way from the perspective of an empirical psychology, the mystery of the individual and the powers that shape it are being referred to equally strongly—individuum est ineffabile.[28] No unseemly analogia entis is meant by this. The individual is granted this value not because of an exaggeration of his realm or his significance but because he is related to an obvious psychological domain, the collective unconscious. The individual has acquired such a crucial importance for Analytical Psychology that his religious-psychological appraisal must be included.

Here we come up against the importance of *boundary problems*. That these can always be examined from two perspectives shows just how particularly profitable they are. The boundary problem between religion and psychology today has got into just as curious a predicament as that between religion and sociology. The consideration of a boundary problem is a question of perspective. If one looks from the viewpoint of psychology over to the area of religion, everything appears in the color and lighting of the psychological. If the psychological area is probed from the standpoint of religious faith, then everything is endowed with meaning from that peculiar "unconditional attitude" that is the psychological, formal peculiarity of faith. In this way, a boundary extension is just as possible as a blurring of boundaries.

[28] Individuum est ineffabile (Latin) = the individual is ineffable.

III. The Source of the Religious

Religion is not a creation of the conscious I. We also cannot find its roots in the individual unconscious, in that sphere of the repressed, forgotten, preconscious. Its source in the psyche is what Jung calls the collective unconscious. It goes without saying that the location of the source is not the source itself. Also, as aforementioned, religion should be understood here as that manifold dynamic process in the soul of man that arises out of his encounter with higher powers, makes itself known in a tremendous, inwardly transformed, symbolic repertoire of forms, and has an essential part in individuation, in our actually becoming human. Thus, once again, that form of religion that is immanent to the soul, from which the "metareligious" as something inaccessible must be differentiated, need not further concern us here.

Religious research shows however, for instance, with the Old Testament prophets, that this aforementioned "being spoken to" by God did not take place only in the unconscious, such as in dreams that came to Jacob, Joseph, and Nebuchadnezzar, but also, so to speak, in the broad light of day, in consciousness itself, as in the case of Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, or Saul, although here we cannot see into the actuality of such an encounter. Yet countless analogies that we could explore show us how frequently an unconscious incubation precedes such a conscious experience.

On the other hand, it is evident that even the conscious experience of being spoken to by God immediately creates those images, symbols, and parables out of the depths of the unconscious in order to find expression and which bring with them that peculiar religious luminousness that shows that they do not only originate from the reservoir of personally experienced perceptions and fantasies, but from a depth that transcends consciousness with which the I is in relationship.

With the introduction of the concept of the collective unconscious, Jung has given this depth an interpretation that is infinite, reaching equally down into the natural-biological and up into the impersonal-spiritual. It is, so to speak, the ocean that breaks in with its entire dynamic and all its splendid and terrible treasures into an apparently circumscribed bay. This natural comparison suggestive of mysticism does not forestall the fact that this encounter that characterizes the higher religious experience takes place in a personal form.

Religious research will here raise the question of what is achieved by the introduction of the concept of the collective unconscious for the understanding of religious phenomena, although the interest is not confined

to Christianity but extends to the entire enormous area of today's living religions, whether among primitive peoples, or the high-level religions of the East, or the wild-growing personal religion within Christianity itself. Where the question is asked in this way and concerns the empirical religious life-cycle of humanity, the theological question of absolute claims by any religion has no place.

The intimations of the collective unconscious show us, so to speak, religion *in statu nascendi*, which appears as man's reaction to unconscious powers breaking into the psyche of individuals and entire nations, even of humanity as a whole. For now, as little can be said about the location of this intrusion, the precise psychic place and that intervention in time that belongs to the contingency and hence to the miracle of the event, as can be said about the qualities of the unknown power. It can be a demon or a God. For consciousness it is transcendent; as Jung says, it appears as an autonomous psychic complex. It is immanent, inasmuch as it is part of the being of psychic reality of which our actual existence is a small part. But these terms have as little immediate meaning as those others that situate religious experience as higher or lower, inner or outer, this side or beyond.

Analytical Psychology has not yet made its own attempt at a coherent psychology of religion. That might be difficult not only due to the formidable complexity of the material but also due to the direction of its interest being not in a system but in the dynamic life process. That said, Jung has commented clearly and often enough in different writings on the religious-psychological problem in the broadest comparative historico-religious terms, so that in any case, the basics of an understanding psychology of religious experience are becoming evident, with all due regard to the limitations of its contingent nature.

We have no reason here simply to reiterate these insights, being more interested in the question of how religious scholarship might engage with this and how it can be applied in the understanding of religious history and the living religious phenomenon.

For religious research, within Analytical Psychology there are three groups of phenomena whose interpretation is important for religious scholarship.

1. The Images of the Collective Unconscious and Religious Symbols

As for assimilating the forces breaking into the unconscious, in their engagement with the collective soul of man, the images of the collective unconscious play the main role. This process manifests itself in the "archetypes"—an expression that Jung took from Augustine's [29] writing, these archetypes being typical forms of perception, primal experiences of the soul, primitive images of the relationship to spiritual reality—mothers of conscious thought and experience, since the unconscious does not know other categories of apperception and expression. Here, one cannot yet speak of thinking or feeling, but at most of a "thinking in images," or even better of the way in which the unconscious sees as a first formulation of the formless, the shapeless, by which *life* encounters the *soul* and frightens it. These primal forms of perception are the first vessels in which life is contained, by means of which any taking-shape is achieved; these images constitute a primary shield, but also the soul's first repertoire of forms, through which irruptive life can be assimilated, and thus portrayed and mediated.

Among these images of the collective unconscious that have the broadest human concordance, one group with a clear religious tinge stands out. These have a personal nature, bear some kind of "mana" character,[30] and are singularly elevated, so that they are accompanied by feelings of awe, worship, willingness to sacrifice, submission, surrender, and of being magically overpowering: as for example the image of the father, the "wise man," the "great" mother, the son of God, the dying God, the hero, the demon snake, the magician, the witch, the "soul," the incubus,[31] etc.

These images from the history of religion are well known to comparative religious research. Thus, if one finds them in the living, wild religiosity of today's humanity, whether in paganism or the neurotic ersatz-religion of the Occident, and above all in the religion of the mad, the schizophrenics, the depressed, and the bipolar,[32] one might infer that they have been smuggled in through some sort of historical transmission. However, as all sorts of experiences show us and as every caretaker of

[29] Augustine (354–430) = Latin theologian writing at the end of Antiquity, and church father.

[30] Mana = a Polynesian term, appropriated by cultural anthropology and the history of religions = a mysterious power.

[31] Incubus (Latin) = description for the devil who has sexual intercourse with a witch.

[32] Cf. cyclothmia (kuklothumia, Greek.) = subject to mood swings, but less severe than manic-depressive bipolarity.

the mentally ill person knows, there is no question of such transmission in most cases. One finds among modern "prophets," among countless neuropathic "founders" of new religions, religious fantasies and forms of ritual that appear to be taken directly from the Gnostic systems of the Valentinians,[33] the followers of Basilides,[34] or the Ophites,[35] without even the name of Gnosticism or its home area being known or accessible in any way. In the regressive process of disintegration among historical forms of religion occurring on a large scale in modern religious consciousness, magical and mantic formulae are suddenly springing up, bringing to mind the Chinese *I Ching*,[36] or processes of splitting in which consciousness registers pairs of opposites in patterns or analogies seemingly from Taoism. The fact that such phenomena are showing up mostly outside the bounds of official religious forms and belong partly within a pathological, wilderness sort of religious output does not absolve the researcher from meeting the question of where these remarkable parallels come from, or of how ancient features of oriental or primitive religion are suddenly arising in isolated, unrelated instances even in Western religious consciousness or in unconscious phenomena. It is well known that Catholic missionaries in the Far East were so shocked by such parallels that they were able to explain them only as an inept impersonation by the devil.

These images of kindred apperception appear as innate images that have provided the building blocks or at least the plastic material for the entire phenomenal edifice of religious symbolism. Such is the parallelism of religious symbols in the different religions with the commonality of these images that in them one can virtually study that first, general *Theologia naturalis*[37] that has spread throughout all religions. How else could the Jonah motif, of being swallowed by the whale[38] and then remarkably liberated, be known by over eighty tribes and mythological groups? The assumption should therefore not be dismissed that this is a matter of autochthonous forms, common to the collective soul, since they show up equally in distant prehistory and spontaneously show up

[33] Valentinians = Christian Gnostic group going back to Valentinus (born in Egypt, died after 160).

[34] Basilides = (born c.85 probably in Syria, died c.145) was a Gnostic in Alexandria.

[35] Ophites = (from the Greek ophis, "snake") a Gnostic trend that ascribed divine nature to the snake in paradise (Genesis 3).

[36] *I-Ching,* cf. I, 2g), p. 50 above, footnote 183.

[37] Theologia naturalis (Latin) = natural theology, i.e., knowledge of God that man is capable of himself.

[38] Cf. the Old Testament book of Jonah.

in dreams and fantasies, madness, and analyses. Even if this matter were not simply the psychological reflex "of a common human brain structure," as Jung says, still the psychological primal source, the original matrix, is effectively revealed here as the reason for assuming a common primal religion.

Jung sees the function of such images from the collective unconscious in a typically self-directed psychological life process that serves the education of man, hence his adaptation to the external and internal worlds, his integration into the community, and his individuation for the purpose of the development of the personality, all tasks of a conscious and unconscious nature for which symbol formation functions as if to provide actual leitmotifs that serve a superior, creative wisdom than the transformation of psychic energies whereby incidentally the "ethical function is also stimulated." In this context we no longer need concern ourselves with the conceptual interpretation of meaning, with its ties to various worldviews. It is enough to observe that most religions open more or less the same picture book in the collective unconscious, but read and interpret its images differently in accord with various expressions of religious experience. Even the prophetic religions, including Christianity itself, give voice to images and parables if they want to do more than silently bear witness to the religious process. Experience and meaning here have changed, but the expressive material offered by the soul has remained similar in scope, although a tremendous process of selection took place among the religious repertoire of forms.

Other formal investigations could be included that have more to do with the content and dynamics of the religious phenomenon.

B. The Daimonie of Religion

Two abnormal religious processes have given both faith and religious research much to wrestle with: namely, possession and grandiose delusions of being the same as God. *Possession* was well-nigh a national nuisance in a previous age. But one must not believe that it has died out. The name has become a word, the explanation has changed, the thing itself remains. Church and theology have worked so much with a normative concept of religion that such phenomena have been driven to the edge of the church's attention. In the Middle Ages, however, this was very different: as soon as religion became demonic, the possessed man was burnt wherever possible—just think of the terrible century of witch hunts and the extraordinary

devil inventory in the "malleus maleficarum," the Hexenhammer.[39] Burning at the stake has given way to a gentler assessment and treatment, the stigma of superstition to the psychopath and madhouse. It is extraordinarily rare that theology is concerned with a deeper understanding or even an actual treatment of this psychic abnormality, as perhaps Blumhardt[40] or Elwood Worcester, the founder of the "Emmanuel movement,"[41] have done. Only most recently has the Anglican Church created the "ministry of healing," which strives to combine the healing powers of faith with the newer psychological insights. And yet the church would have every reason to give this matter its full attention, not only because in general it is not normal people who seek out its pastoral care, but those who experience more psychological disturbance than moral or religious confusion. And also because the hardest cases of disturbance in equilibrium, melancholy, and possession signify such a mental derangement of the soul that even the greatest comfort of the church, the gospel, can no longer reach them. Every psychiatrist is familiar with countless cases of that religious delusion that is the spitting image of age-old possession. But some ministers do not know that even within their congregation there are secretly possessed people who guard their secret with all their strength, and perhaps even hide behind an ascetic piety or subdue it in a secret ritual.

The experience of these poor souls is so real in nature and at the same time so alien to the personality that it is perceived only hallucinatorily as a "voice" or a "spirit." Entire movements such as spiritualism or occultism base their spiritual teaching on this. For them, the spiritualist realm is not only not closed, but they even seek to categorize it very deliberately and to be in contact with it regularly through mediums.

The metaphysical interpretation of the appearance of spirits and processes of possession leads to a bottomless pit. The gate is opened to the wildest superstitious fantasies. The theory of the collective unconscious refines these unauthorized excursions into the demonic realm once and for all with a more exact exploration of the psychological facts. Just as Flournoy set the spirit world of the spiritualist medium Miss Smith purely

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[39] Malleus maleficarum (Latin) = Hammer of the Witches, by Henricus Institoris, published in 1486 in Speyer to legitimize witch hunts. It went through 29 editions until the17th century.

[40] Cf. 119 1 and I, 3a p. 66), above.

[41] Elwood Worcester (1862–1940), Anglican cleric and pioneer of psychotherapy, who founded a Center for Pastoral Care at the Emmanuel Church in Boston. See I, 3a), p. 66 above.

on the grounds of psychological investigation in his work "Des Indes à la Planète Mars,"[42] so, using the methods of Analytical Psychology, Jung penetrated into the source of these phenomena, into the collective unconscious, exploring its ways of operating and its relationship to the personal unconscious and to consciousness. He found similar processes and phenomena, much as in the case of grandiose delusions[43] that we will describe presently. As with possession, the individual appears to be endowed with increased powers, unhinged and unusually expanded.

What we are calling *grandiose delusions* here can equally be observed in pastoral care and in studies of abnormal religious processes in religious literature. Certain meetings of sects in which the participants are placed under high emotional pressure regularly manifest such phenomena, which are not fully explained psychologically when one describes them as crazy, inflated, or as religious delusion. It mostly concerns excitable people who suddenly assume a prophetic stance in a state of exhilaration, announce the final judgment of the world or the coming of the kingdom of God, as his authorized ones sovereignly flout every religious or moral custom, which only apply to normal people, disturb services with wonderful outflowings of the Holy Spirit, give prophetic visions, become founders of religions, or in severe cases identify themselves without hesitation as Christ or as God the Father. We treat those first mentioned cases with benevolent indulgence as people of a excess spiritual voltage, but without further ado we lock up in the madhouse an incarnate "Christ" or "Godfather" who wishes to intervene in our life with sovereign, divine authority. To this day, every intensely emotional religious movement always fills individuals with an experience of boundlessness, absoluteness, the miraculous, an unlimited increase in power, and carries them away to endeavors, fantasies, and deeds that far exceed the limits of the individual. In this it is very difficult to differentiate between such false prophets, "fools in Christ," who only assume boundlessness and an enhanced messiahhood and live in a divine intoxication, and those others who actually are imbued with God's strength, who transcend boundaries and achieve the miracle of overcoming the world in the strength of the spirit. We will also not consider here the phenomenon of authentic prophetic vocation, nor

[42] Cf. Théodore Flournoy, *Des Indes à la planète Mars*. new ed., intro. and commentary by Marina Yaguello and Mireille Cifali (Paris: Edition du Seuil, 1983). First publ. 1899. *From India to the Planet Mars: A Case of Multiple Personality with Imaginary Languages*. Foreword by C. G. Jung and commentary by Mireille Cifali ; ed. and introd. by Sonu Shamdasani. Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1994.

[43] Gottähnlichkeitswahn in German—delusion that one is very much like God.

what the Christian religion actually means by revelation, and confine ourselves to the religious realm of experience of the everyday that is accessible to us.

In both cases, in that of possession and grandiose delusions, the theory of the collective unconscious allows us to get closer to the psychological nature of the relevant phenomena. This is a case of the flooding of consciousness by the collective unconscious, of a breaking in by psychic forces that have very particular forms and great intensity. This flooding appears to signify either a tremendous increase in power for the individual or a burden that oppresses him, and always when the individual cannot differentiate himself from this collective power and tries to interpret its force as coming from of his own ego. Why this breaking in expresses itself in the one case as a terrible psychological burden, and in the other as an augmentation of the sense of self, eludes our judgment and brings us up against ultimate mysteries of psychological constitution.

However, the peculiar feeling of reality that accompanies such phenomena is still not accounted for through awareness of the origin of these intrusions, interpretation of the symbols, or illumination of the psychological reaction. Flournoy, in his psychological exploration of the medium, Miss Smith, and the "modern mystic,"[44] already showed that bequests from the unconscious bring with them remarkable elevations in consciousness that have a mystical and religious character. Jung speaks of an identification of the I with the collective unconscious, whereby the I appropriates or attributes psychic powers to itself that do not belong to it and that threaten its equilibrium. He who is full of God will always differentiate himself from what the devil has entered. But a boundary violation is also to be feared in the same way, where the I blurs its boundaries both upwards and downwards.

Individuation is the boundary, having a culpable nature in many religious myths, because man recognizes the danger to the soul of rushing into the divine abyss and perceives it as an impertinence to come face to face with an all-pervading divinity as an individual in his own existence. Even in the paradise narrative, becoming conscious, becoming human, was perceived as a plundering of divinity. But there is an individuation that is hubris as well as one that means humility and insight within its own boundaries. The religious individual always stands there like the man on

[44] Théodore Flournoy: "Une mystique moderne: documents pour la psychologie religieuse." Geneva: Kündig, Paris; H. Gaulon [etc.], 1915. *Archives de psychologie tome* 15, no 57–58 (1915).

the beach who is overwhelmed by an enormous wave and washed away. One moment it breaks over him and he believes himself to be the wave. Then it separates from him and rolls away while the man remains. For one moment he was one with the wave, with joy or alarm experiencing its superior strength, then he stands alone on the beach again, knowing that by himself he is not the wave that crashed over him. He has returned to his smallness and powerlessness from his greatness and strength, since he was full of God or the demonic, and the entire spectrum of that blessedness and despair in which religious life operates lies between both these moments of the highest religious life and deepest religious need and abandonment. Hence religion is located just as much in God's proximity as in God's remoteness, in the connection as in the letting go, in community as in isolation. There is, however, a religious euphoria and religious despair that is no longer religious. What it reveals is that polarity at whose most divergent points man becomes a slave to the daimonie of religion in both its good and bad senses, and from which he can liberate himself only through becoming a self or through faith.

3. Religious Polarity

A psychological phenomenon is captured in the compensation theory of Analytical Psychology that offers religious research both stimulation and certain difficulties. Early on, the unconscious was understood as a psychological function, having a compensatory relationship to consciousness. The psyche appears rather like a pan balance whose arms reside partly in consciousness and partly in the unconscious. If it rises up on the conscious side through the increase of conscious functions, then the other side sinks all the deeper into the unconscious and induces reactions there that compensatorily strengthen the expression of the unconscious.

This, then, seems to be a natural way for the psyche to react. Now what does this compensatory function mean for the understanding of certain religious phenomena?

We have already referred above in general to how the unconscious reacts with the stirrings of a masked religion when faced with the drought and emptiness of consciousness. However, further observations present religious thinking with difficult problems, at least Occidental Christian thinking, which is structured on an eschatological and ethical monism and assumes the triumph of God or of the good, both in everyday ethical-religious demands on the individual and in the accepted behavior of the Christian community. The bourgeois moralistic misunderstanding of

Christianity reckons with an explicitly morally determined human quality, simply closing its eyes to the sinister daimonie that becomes evident as soon as one no longer confines the soul to consciousness as a beam of light. Great poets and authorities on the soul such as Kierkegaard,[45] Dostoevsky,[46] Heraclitus,[47] Laotze,[48] Confucius,[49] and above all depth psychology have illuminated the abyss and the circle of light flickering above it in maximum phosphorescence. They have therefore not only pointed to that polarity of the soul known to the Bible but also have presented the reactions of the unconscious itself against such a moralistic-monistic conception of man.

Knowledge of this compensatory function makes the psychology of religion suspicious or very cautious in its evaluation of all extreme cases, in which one issue is strikingly and fanatically overemphasized or particularly loaded with affect. Accordingly, the psychology of religious fanaticism takes on a proprietary clarification in all areas. It appears to be a compensation for a doubt, as Jung has shown. It is well known how often a rigorous moral fanaticism conceals a converse component of the soul, or is the single means of protection against unconscious or half-conscious sensory stirrings. Folk wisdom expresses this in the proverb: "qui fait l'ange, fait la bête."[50] The acts of the saints are full of testimonies to such temptations, which seem to compensate for the highest and purest exaltations of the soul. The history of mysticism knows something of this: that where Christ appears, the devil is not far behind, as well as Judas, traitor to the holy.

In themselves these facts are nothing new in religious anthropology. The Bible knows what sort of "creature" man is, and therefore has placed all conscious optimism under the contrasting pair of good and evil into which the human being is bifurcated.

The theory of compensation also adds to revelation of these facts the suggestion of an inner directedness that forces man into the center and prevents him from becoming a slave to the immoderate or the unboundaried in one way or another, for moderation and boundary, the differentiation of world and God, are his being. Therefore the unconscious counters

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[45] Søren Kierkegaard (1813–1855), Danish author and philosopher.

[46] Fyodor Mikhailovitch Dostoevsky (1821–1881), Russian author.

[47] Heraclitus (c.520 BC–c.460 BC), Pre-Socratic philosopher in Ephesus.

[48] Laotze = Chinese Taoist philosopher, sixth century BC.

[49] Confucius (probably from 551BC to 479 BC), Chinese philosopher.

[50] Qui fait l'ange, fait la bête: French, cf. Blaise Pascal (1623–1662), *Pensées*, Über die Religion und einige andere Gegenstände. Heidelberg: Lambert Schneider, 1978, p.170: "Man is neither an angel nor a beast and the problem is that whoever wants to act like an angel, acts like a beast" (VI: 358).

the conscious excess of the I with an inner devaluation in the unconscious, firstly as the negative to the positive, but then also concretely as a correcting destiny. Or as the inner fear and the demon that threatens that "secure man" whom the good citizen presents himself to be. To the overdetermined yes in consciousness, the no steps forward out of the unconscious. It is therefore not surprising that suspicious experts in human nature guard against immediately falling for that yes and rather compensatorily first seek to find that hidden no that corrects or complements the conscious attitude, even when it is not immediately obvious.

This "no" that evidently belongs to the "yes" is mostly experienced by consciousness as evil. The paired opposites of good and evil that we encounter in moral and religious value judgments therefore also appear here in the domain of psychological functions and its evaluation by consciousness. If depth psychology can study this pair of opposites purely in its functional significance, that is not possible for moral and religious consciousness, although even it, where it digs deeply enough, sees man, or even God, in his unfathomable polarity.

Christian theology will regard this psychologically empirical state of affairs not from the standpoint of an absolute morality, but from the perspective of its doctrine and in particular its anthropology. For these, sin is part of human reality. Evil is in the world and the soul as an unfathomably operative fact. It stands under the law of sin that rules the human domain completely. According to Romans 7, it is the operative power that does not worry about the moral I and its consciousness or its will. Yes, evil is included as an inscrutable mystery in God himself. For example, in the Middle Ages God is even described as the "coincidentia" or "complexio oppositorum."[51] In her book on Luther,[52] Ricarda Huch stressed precisely this doublesidedness even of Protestant faith. In Taoism the acceptance of this polarity is in fact the deepest religious wisdom.

Obviously theology has not first encountered the problem of evil through the theory of the compensatory function of the unconscious. The fact that parallels arise here quite spontaneously again illustrates the ancient wisdom of a religious anthropology that grounds the human being more deeply than in the superficially accessible facts of biology or consciousness. If the Bible and early creeds speak of a descensus ad inferos,[53]

[51] Coincidentia or complexio oppositorum (Latin) = coincidence of the opposites, expression of Nikolaus of Cusa (1401–1464), pre-Reformation theologian, philosopher, and cardinal.

[52] Ricarda Huch, *Luthers Glaube Briefe an einen Freund* (Leipzig: Insel-Verlag, 1916).

[53] Descensus ad inferos (Latin) = descent into the underworld.

then depth psychology has shown that this lower world begins in one's own soul and that, from the unconscious itself, a dialectical opposition arises to the moralistic self-glorification of man and the illusions of culture to which he so easily succumbs in his consciousness. It is precisely the "dark soul's universal attachment" to the world, brought to mind by this dialectic between conscious and unconscious, that reveals the hubris of a rationalist I-consciousness and shows to the soul that it is stirred up by Acheron[54] if it resists being shaken by God. So, where this totality of the soul is discovered, that urgent reminder to humility can also be heard which knows (like the mystics) that man is an animal that soon will be ridden by God and soon by the devil.

IV. Psychological Types and Religious Differentiation

The religious consciousness of humanity is not unitary. The spirit that has become nature shares differentiation with nature herself. It is impossible to trace the multiplicity of religions back to one original religion or to the foundational qualities of a unitary religious consciousness in humanity. It is equally impossible to extrapolate the multiplicity of religions from one single principle of differentiation. The concept of prophetic revelation common to all higher religions leads the differentiation ultimately back to the will of God itself, which, as in the Christian faith, has mercy on the one and is obdurate towards others.

One ought to be able to assume that at least in the higher religions there would be a greater degree of unity, since what is at stake is revealed divine truth. Experience shows the opposite. If we confine ourselves to Christianity, which in its foundational principles speaks of *one* God, *one* intermediary, *one* baptism, *one* faith, then it is a true scandalon[55] how the multiplicity of concrete forms of Christianity could evolve from this unity of revelation and proclamation. It is not enough to attribute them to the will of the divine creator who also creates differences within nature. One can clearly infer the all too human reasons in history that have caused this multiplicity.

The present allows us expressly to experience anew the fact that race, nation, and culture are vessels in which divine truth also assumes different forms. It is undeniable that the German soul conceives of Christianity differently from the English or the American soul. It is even clearer how

[54] Acheron = river in the underworld.
[55] Scandalon (Greek.) = stumbling block.

human madness, arrogance, bigotry, and self-love have contributed to church and sectarian differentiations of Christianity. From its viewpoint, religiously intolerant imperialism explains away all otherness as untruth. Since divine truth is *one*, its human conception should also be one. Both the right to religious difference, and the fact of it, are thus denied. Burning at the stake, anathema, religious war, the denunciation of parties, and the damnamus secus docentes[56] seek to establish a truth by force.

However, these differences persist, in spite of every authoritative proclamation of the truth and of the Bible itself; indeed they are multiplying every day. Every party, every trend is giving birth to new heretics. German Protestantism of the nineteenth century is today producing "German Christians"[57] and "Confessing Christians."[58] Confessional theology is splitting into the Barthians[59] and the Brunnerians.[60] The rabies theologorum[61] can only explain this otherness as a lie, as stubbornness and the heart's wickedness, indeed in others it sees Satan at work. It is understandable that contemporary Protestantism puts many people off, precisely because it holds and facilitates difference but then will not acknowledge it after all, but rather labels it heresy and beats it dead with some concept of the truth gleaned from somewhere.

Here, Jung's theory of types poses the modest question whether some of this diversity is not associated with differences in function or attitude in the psyche itself. This does not eliminate the question of truth. But in the face of the many truths it makes an initial attempt to understand why men with their single truths cannot mutually convince each other, and why this cannot simply be interpreted as stubbornness or the resistance of an infamous lying spirit which can only be responded to by burning at the stake or calling it anathema. Logical reasons do not prevail here at all. Precisely in the religious domain, truth is more deeply rooted than in any mere intellectual domain. It emerges from the unconscious foundation of the personality itself. What is proclaimed in consciousness as logical truth is matched by a quite specific way of functioning, an ultimate basic attitude of the individual to the object itself.

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[56] We condemn it even if you maintain it. Based on *Confessio Augustana* X (Confessional texts of the Evangelical Lutheran Church). (Gottingen: Univ. of Ruprecht, 1986), p. 64).

[57] German Christians = a German Protestant party that supported National Socialism.

[58] Confessing Christians = members of the confessing churches that took a critical stance towards National Socialism.

[59] Followers of theologian Karl Barth (1886–1968).

[60] Followers of theologian Emil Brunner (1889–1966).

[61] Rabies theologorum (Latin) = fury of theologians.

Through this individual subject-object relationship, Jung's critical differentiation of psychological types facilitates an understanding of one of the most important roots of subjective differences in the perception of one and the same objective truth. The subject-object relationship in religious research is the psychological expression for the dialectical relationship between the human I and a personal, divine power that transcends consciousness. The human subject is affected by the religious object. It is not relevant to the psychological discussion of this relationship that the latest theology virtually reverses the subject-object relationship and judges this relationship not from the perspective of the subject but from the object, thus making this latter the subject. In earlier writing on the philosophy of religion, Karl Heim[62] showed how such a reversal does in fact exist and influences our religious expression. The fact is that differences of perception proceed from the human subject, thus from the subject's diverse structural relationships or attitudes. The fact that subjective ways of functioning are considered objective truths has certainly been a contributory factor to the great historical controversies of Christianity, even if this does not say the last word about the question of truth. The subject reacts in different ways to the one and the same object. If this insight could be taken seriously, then a large part of religious polemics could begin to be dismantled, or that rabies theologorum which gave Melanchthon[63] reason to say that he was looking forward to death so that he wouldn't have to bear it any longer.

Mysticism seeks universally to remove that subject-object split in which human consciousness operates. For this reason, we will not consider mysticism here. All other religions stress either the subject or the object more strongly. From this perspective, for example, the controversy between theologies of transcendence or immanence acquires a particular psychological illumination. Jung attempted to make this basic difference useful for other controversies, e.g., by contrasting Tertullian and Origen[64] in the theological battle over the subject's different ways of functioning, or, put another way, between a purely intellectual theology and a theologia pectoris,[65] as in the contrast between rationalism and

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[62] Karl Heim (1874–1958), Protestant theologian in Tubingen.

[63] Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560), Reformation theologian and scholar in Wittenberg, and Luther's closest colleague.

[64] Origen (185–c.254), early Christian theologian in Alexandria and Caesarea (Palestine). On Tertullian and Origen cf. Jung, *Psychological Types*, CW 6, paras. 16–30.

[65] Theologia pectoris (Latin) = theology of the heart. Keller alludes to James Muscutt Hodgson, *Theologia Pectoris: Outlines of Religious Faith and Practice, Founded on Intuition and Experience* (Edinburgh, T. &T. Clark, 1898).

pietism. Or for the difference between a concrete and a symbolic theology as it exists in the Eucharistic controversy between Luther and Zwingli. A large number of theological controversies can, while not fully resolved, be cast in a new light. An understanding psychology will have nothing to say about the validity of absolute judgments, but probably more about the conditions in which a man's judgments are made. Some debate between liberal and orthodox theologians, between a theology of thinking and the theology of intuitive perception, would thus need to be accompanied by arguments ad hominem.[66] Today's worldwide controversy between American idealistic-constructive theology and eschatological–theocentric theology on the European continent is grounded firstly in a differing valuation of the subject, his capabilities, and his limitations in the face of the religious object, as is the debate between a pure theology of grace and a Pelagian theology of human religious capabilities. It would not be reliable simply to trace back ultimate theological differences to psychological attitudes. But what contribution such subjective qualities do make can be ascertained by investigating the psychological roots of a man's worldview, such as Jaspers[67] has undertaken. However, an explanation of the generational differences between theological father and sons is even more useful. In this case it is clear that it is not only the individual who finds a new rhythm of life if he discovers in himself and integrates an as yet unconscious psychological function; an entire generation can also rediscover a forgotten function and, through its integration, lend a new accent to contemporary theology, because truth strides not only through the epochs and generations but also through its psychologies. In fact, there are "many mansions" not only in heaven, but also on earth.[68] All the children of one epoch are never locked into the same room.

V. Pastoral Care and Spiritual Direction

Jung expresses this issue with the following words: "Man has never yet been able single-handed to hold his own against the powers of darkness, that is, of the unconscious. Man has always stood in need of the spiritual

[66] Ad hominem (Latin) = toward the man, i.e., it is argued or directed "towards the man," i.e., not rationally and logically but personally.

[67] Karl Jaspers (1883–1969), German psychiatrist and philosopher, active in Heidelberg and later in Basel. Keller is thinking of Karl Jaspers, *Psychologie der Weltanschauungen* (Berlin: Springer Verlag, 1919).

[68] Cf. John 14:2.

help which his particular religion held out to him."[69] This help has always been mediated by man through pastoral care. However, this concerns the fundamental dialectical relationship between God and man into which Christian pastoral care seeks to induct the seeker of pastoral care. Christian pastoral care wants to help man by confronting him with God. Analytical spiritual direction attempts this by confronting him with himself, while yet leaving it completely open that God will also meet man in his deeper Self.

One may speak here of a secularization of religious pastoral care. This seems to meet the needs of a great number of Protestant educated people. In a study,[70] Jung has established that while one would need broader scope in order to be convincing, the majority of those surveyed seek help for their psychological conflicts from the doctor rather than the minister. This implies a criticism of Protestant pastoral care which in the first instance should simply be listened to. I do not wish here to enter into a discussion about pastoral care and spiritual direction or to describe it in this context, but simply to take from that criticism the positive suggestions that could also be useful for religious pastoral care. Above all, these involve possible deeper insights into man. Christian pastoral care will, however, always insist that it is seeking to bring about an encounter between man and God, with Christ as the divine pastor of the congregation and not only counseling from knowledge of the human being. But the question remains of which man this pastoral care applies to. Theology itself will leave these psychological explorations to specialists in the applied psychology of religion and pedagogy, since it *per se* only deals indirectly with the question of the treatment of man.

Protestant pastoral care as it is conceived by such gifted pastors as Bodelschwingh,[71] Blumhardt,[72] Buchman,[73] Frommel,[74] Leopold

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[69] Jung, "Psychotherapists or the Clergy," in CW 11, para. 531.

[70] This refers to Jung's text mentioned in the previous footnote, which was also published as a pamphlet *The Relationship of Psychotherapy to Pastoral Care* (Zurich, Rascher, 1932).

[71] Friedrich von Bodelschwingh (1831–1910), German Protestant minister and philanthropist, founder of the Bodelschwingh Institute in Bethel near Bielefeld.

[72] Johann Christoph Blumhardt (1805–1880) and Christoph Blumhardt (1842–1919), Protestant ministers in Wurttemberg, who exercised a broad-based pastoral ministry in Bad Boll, cf. p. 119 1.

[73] Frank Buchman (1878–1961), Lutheran theologian from the United States, founder of the Oxford Group movement, see I, 2i) and I, 3d), p. 61 above.

[74] Emil Wilhelm Frommel (1828–1896), German Protestant theologian and popular author.

Monod,[75] Johannes Müller,[76] and Zeller[77] is certainly not the application of a method, but that "spiritual presence" in which a prophetic word meets a man or uplifts him. In fact, this pastoral care works with only two statements: You are the man! And: Your sins are forgiven! But the pedagogy of these two statements can bring about the miracle that always signifies a transformation of the man trapped in his legalism.

Analytic critique will have as little effect on this free, efficacious, and creative working of the spirit as the theory of electricity can prevent lightning from striking. Therefore, as far I can see, it is fully justified in critiquing three corruptions of true pastoral care that are responsible for the modern public's suspicion of the official church's care of the soul:

1 The first corruption is the spiritual schematism that denies the individual by taking the unity of divine truth as its starting point, thereby overlooking the obvious diversity of individual psychic reality. That schematism pretends to have a so-called normal individual in mind who, wherever he may be, would take the same route to his salvation. It completely overlooks the appalling inequality of real people who gather in an enormous circle around God, and so in some circumstances must take completely different psychic routes in order to find their authentic life center.

Analytical psychological counseling corrects this schematism with a case history whose sole leitmotif is the promotion of individuation. This means that this psychological counseling wants to help man to find himself. Today's man is becoming ill through a schema imposed on him, through the toxic effect of unconscious images and impulses, from the suffocating armor of a synthetic persona that imposes a collective personality upon the individual, in short, by forgetting that pastoral wisdom of Jesus: what does it profit a man if he gains the whole world but loses his own soul! If pastoral care begins from the outset with the demand that man should give up his Self, then Analytical psychological counseling

[75] Léopold Monod, French-speaking Swiss Protestant minister, cf. Léopold Monod, "Quelques épaves recueillies après cinquante ans de ministère. " Manuscript left by the author and published by his children; biographical notes by Raoul Allier. Paris, Fischbacher; Lausanne, Editions La Concorde, 1923.

[76] Johannes Müller (1864–1949), Protestant theologian who built a day-center in Elmau (Bavaria) that was attended by many; a "sanctuary of personal life" in order to help "today's man" to a life worthy of his being, led in the ethics of Jesus.

[77] Samuel Heinrich Ansgar Zeller (1834–1912), teacher, leader of an institute and minister in Männedorf.

reminds us of Vinet's word:[78] "Pour se donner, il faut s'appartenir,"[79] and seeks first to discover the I that is to sacrifice itself. What one does not possess, cannot be given away. In pastoral care, this self- acceptance equates with the confession of sin in that an inventory of all the psychological possessions of the individual is first recorded, for good or ill. Through man's confrontation with his Self, he learns to withstand those higher confrontations with the spirit that take place in the religious encounter.

2 The analytic critique of pastoral care thus rejects the moralism that characterizes bourgeois, complacent Christianity and its pastoral care. The educated man no longer seeks out the pastor because with him he feels less understood than judged or condemned. This moralistic caricature keeps reinforcing the misunderstanding, as if pastoral care is about making a good man out of an evil one. This distortion of the gospel is just as far removed from the poetic insights of a Dostoevsky, who insurpassably portrays the daimonie of man, as it is from Luther's insight, who recognized nothing but simul justus et peccator,[80] even in the righteous man. This does not mean that analytical psychological counseling fails to recognize or regard the value judgments of moral behavior. But it takes man firstly in his psychosomatic totality without imposing from outside a valuation that must, far more, be the actual moral act of the individual. Wherever there is life, the spirit and its exigencies will be encountered. Where there is no life, even the most sublime ethical postulates find no agency. Because life is not organized around a finished system and cannot be treated simply as a rounded-off whole, defined by a superimposed morality. For what is moral cannot always be grasped in and of itself, as Paul also understood, and even the strongest good will falters on the mysterious stumbling blocks of evil allotted to it. In the face of the will's powerlessness known to the most ancient religious

[78] Alexandre Vinet (1797–1847), Swiss Reform theologian and literary historian.

[79] Pour se donner, il faut s'appartenir (French) = To give oneself away, one must first belong to oneself. Quote from Luc de Clapiers, Marquis de Vauvenargues (1715–1747), French author, incorrectly attributed to Alexandre Vinet.

[80] Simul iustus et peccator (Latin) = simultaneously righteous and sinner; a famous statement by Luther; cf. for example, Luther's *Lecture on the Letter to the Romans*, WA 56, p.272: "simul peccator et iustus; peccator re vera, sed iustus ex reputatione et promissione Dei certa. . . ." = simultaneously sinners and righteous; sinners in reality, but righteous from the perspective of and through the promise of God.

experience, analytic psychological counseling calls much less upon the will and more on a confidence in the hidden wisdom of inner becoming and the call discernable in it. Because it attests to the formative power of surrender known to Eastern wisdom, it is a necessary reaction against Western activism and optimism in education, which often have made of education a lie and a hypocrisy.

3 Thus we have identified the *idealistic corruption* of pastoral care that is challenged by analytical psychological counseling. So-called modern religious pastoral care blithely counts on a concept of man who has moral or aesthetic idealism while making a rationalist judgment at the same time. For idealism, from the perspective of Analytical Psychology, banks on the idea and consciousness of man as if they were the totality of the personality. The prevailing form of pastoral care appeals above all to the conscious part of the personality and forgets the unconscious complement that needs to be addressed in a completely different way. The unconscious does not pay attention to the sermon, to reason, to the formative intention. The bridge between it and consciousness is not logic, but rather the symbol with its stronger unconscious appeal to the depths. Analytical psychological counseling shows a psychic realism here that is infinitely closer to the old biblical concept of man than the optimistic idealization of man of the last century, with its byword: man is good. The demonic underground that reaches deeply into man requires a different exorcism than that of kind words, rational persuasion, or moral demands. Here, powers are at work that far exceed anything human, and where even preachy or pastoral proclamations are no substitute for that single, devastating encounter with God himself and the "descensus ad inferos[81]—an article of faith that acquires a new significance precisely from depth psychology. In any case, Tertullian knew only one side of the soul when he said of it: anima naturaliter christiana. One can add from rich experience: anima naturaliter pagana.[82]

[81] Descended to the dead, (Apostles' creed, ecumenical version).
[82] Anima naturaliter pagana (Latin) = the soul is naturally pagan.

It is not our intention here to demonstrate how these insights might be applied in practice. But pastoral care will become a better guide to salvation and life if it strives for both: a better understanding not only of God but of the soul as well. [83]

[83] This last sentence is "vintage Keller": from the very beginning of his career he had tried to reconcile Jung with Barth and Barth with Jung, the two most important guiding lights of his life. While Barth strove to understand God, Jung strove to understand the human soul. For Keller both were of equal importance.

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The Collected Works of C. G. Jung

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